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XIV.—FORERUNNERS, CONGENERS, AND DERIVATIVES OF THE EUSTACE LEGEND.

INTRODUCTION.

In any study which involves the consideration of a network of stories, it is chiefly necessary to regard the skeleton upon which the tales in question are built up. Although it is impossible to decide upon the relationship of the various members of a cycle without some consideration of individual incidents and even turns of thought or phrase, it is constantly necessary to check and control the information thus gained by the larger matters of motive and purpose. Individual incidents and all the flesh and blood of a narrative are so easily changed that the skeleton appears stable in comparison. With due regard to the kaleidoscopic changes which are familiar to every student of this field of comparative literature, it furnishes the clue by which the labyrinth of plots must be threaded, if at all.

The story-skeleton is made up of motive and purpose, as already intimated. Between the two a distinction is to be made which is of considerable importance. The purpose of

a narrative is its external intent, whether it be told for religious and moral instruction as usually in the case of *exempla* and fables, whether to raise the boisterous laugh of the citizen as in the case of *fabliaux*, or whether for the pleasure of hearing the exploits of love, war, and adventure as variously in the case of romances. The purpose may thus be changed while the motive is kept intact, for the motive is the essential part of a story and survives change of purpose as well as loss of incident. So folk-tale was written down as *fabliau*, *fabliau* was adapted to the uses of a saint's life, yet the story remained essentially the same. In the present study this principle must be kept in mind, not only because the cycle of stories to be considered admirably illustrates it, but because it furnishes the only clue, I believe, to the correct classification of the group. If the same purpose and motive are found unchanged in two narratives, it is safe to regard them as either analogous or the one as derivative of the other.

It follows from this that no mere tabulation of incidents and mechanical arrangement according to the results of such an investigation is sufficient to establish the filiation of a group. The method is easy and is too often followed, but it is not sound. Many factors must be considered in the study of the history of stories, which are overlooked in such a classification: first and foremost, the motive, since narratives which are good enough to live are not invertebrate things; secondly, the purpose, easily changed but important; thirdly, matters of chronology and geography, which are sometimes of the utmost value in determining the relationship of allied versions; and lastly, those tricks of thought and language which occasionally furnish suggestive clues to the mystery of literary borrowing.

I have indulged in this preamble because it seemed necessary to explain my method of study in view of the fact that

the results which I obtain are not in accord with those of the only scholar who has hitherto studied the entire group of which the *Eustace* legend is a member.¹ A certain limitation of the subject is necessary in view of the manifold ramifications of allied but not analogous stories. Accordingly, I shall exclude from consideration all such tales as are congeners of stories allied to the *Eustace* group only by one or more similar incidents, and I shall treat these allied stories in a chapter by themselves. Only by such limitation is it possible to learn more from such a study than that stories like trees have a multitude of branches. It is the purpose of this paper to show the influence of legend on romance, of an ecclesiastical story on secular fiction. This influence is, I believe, far more important than is nowadays thought. Several groups of tales show the ecclesiastical impress. These I hope to study in a series of papers of which this is the first. I have chosen the cycle connected with the *Eustace* legend at this time, because the derivation is especially well marked and in the case of individual romances well understood by scholars. Not only motive but purpose is retained in many instances. It thus illustrates to advantage the principle which I seek to establish.

¹ Philip Ogden, *A Comparative Study of the Poem Guillaume d'Angleterre with a Dialectic Treatment of the Manuscripts*, 1900. Dr. Ogden has unfortunately printed only a few excerpts from his dissertation, so that it is impossible with justice to criticize his study in detail. Though I have treated rather more stories than he does, I wish to express my obligations to his work for the suggestion of some material that I might otherwise have overlooked. It is only fair to say, however, that for most of the versions treated I am not indebted even to the indefinite hints found in Dr. Ogden's fragment, as my study had made considerable progress before I knew of his work. It is to be hoped that he will soon publish the results of his completed study.

I.

THE MOTIVE OF THE MAN TRIED BY FATE.

The essential motive common to the group of related stories under discussion may be formulated thus. A man for some weighty reason, often religious or resulting from religion, departs from home with his family. He loses his sons (usually twins) and his wife by accident or human violence, or both. After various adventures and considerable suffering, the several members of the family are at last reunited.

Tales which have a skeleton more or less similar to this in certain particulars are doubtless found in almost every country of the globe, sometimes in literature, sometimes in the mouths of the people. Certain notable examples of these I have found, and on them I base my discussion. Undoubtedly many other examples exist which would be of great service to the study, but the collection of tales is an endless task. Moreover, not every narrative which has points of correspondence with the outline sketched above can profitably be treated here. Unfortunate heroes and heroines are common in the literature of all times, and their adventures are often more or less similar to those that I have outlined. Many of them left home, many were exposed to the violence of nature or of man, some lost their children, and the trials of most met a just recompense at last. But we are here concerned only with those persons to whom the series of adventures happened in the order mentioned and with a similarity of incident which makes it possible to discover with tolerable accuracy their mutual relations.

Without this limitation, a host of tales would have to be treated, which may or may not have some relation to this

group. Such relationship cannot be discovered, at all events, till the smaller divisions are mapped out. The chartless seas of storiology are attractive but dangerous. I reject, then, from my main scheme all stories and groups of stories that have not the essential motive which I have stated. The method is not so high-handed as at first blush it might appear, since it necessitates no Procrustean bed upon which tales must be hacked or mangled to suit the exigencies of the situation, but simply demands a rigorous selection. It allows no careless eclecticism but rivets the attention upon prime requisites.

Thus the group of stories originating in the Orient, which has an early representative in the tale of *Kamaralzaman* in the *Arabian Nights* and as western members the charming Italian romance *Ottinello e Giulia*, the not less charming *Pierre de Provence* in its various forms, the Old French *L'Escoufle* and the German *Der Busant*, must be thrust aside. It was not without influence upon the later versions of the family which we are to study, and it must be considered in due course;¹ but it has a different motive and can best be judged after the main group has been considered. This will be seen from the following brief analysis. Contrary to the will of their parents and sometimes after romantic adventures, a high-born youth marries an equally high-born maiden. They set out on a journey, or elope, and are robbed of a treasure by wicked men or mischievous birds. The young man pursues and is thus separated from his mistress. After living for some time in obscurity, he at length reaches the place where, after a separate series of adventures, the lady has established herself in prosperity. There can be no doubt that such a motive is foreign to the cycle of the *Man Tried by Fate*.

¹ See chap. v.

Similarly, *Apollonius of Tyre*,¹ though it has an incident somewhat resembling the account of the forsaken woman in our group of stories, has absolutely nothing to do with it historically. "Raub von Mädchen und ihre spätere Wiedererkennung," says Klebs,² "Seesturm und Schiffbruch, Träume und Orakel sind allgemeine Mittel der antiken Dichtung." This is so obviously true and *Apollonius* is so closely allied with classical antiquity in substance and form that it would be useless even to mention it in passing were it not that the chance resemblance of the unfortunate heroine to other unfortunate ladies of stories which have a traceable connection with our group must be recognized. As a matter of fact, the incest motive did find its way into many other tales of western Europe, but that the woman who was put to sea with her child is essentially unlike the woman even of the *Crescentia-Genovefa-Helena* cycle is proved by the fact that she is supposed to be dead.

Likewise the stories of mistaken identity represented in classical literature by the *Menaechmi* of Plautus and its shadowy source, the *Didymi*, and in modern literature by the *Comedy of Errors*, have no connection with our cycle and can safely be neglected.³ The fact that they tell about the adventures of twin brothers is surely no reason for believing them relatives of the story of the *Man Tried by Fate*. One twin is lost, and the other tries to find him. The whole interest rests on the perplexity into which they are thrown by their likeness to one another; the details were obviously invented to explain the situation and have no value in determining the motive. No more do the Greek and Latin

¹ For general treatment and history, see Klebs, *Apollonius aus Tyrus*, 1899.

² P. 297.

³ Ogden includes them and even (p. 28) connects them closely with the Spanish *Cifar*, because one of the twins in that romance is lost by straying away as is the Epidamnian Menaechmus. But see chap. VI.

mythological stories of *Danae*, *Dirce*, *Latona*, *Tyro*, and *Rhea Sylvia* fall within the bounds of our study. They are early forms of the story of the oppressed woman and cannot with propriety or profit be placed in juxtaposition to our cycle, though perhaps they may be connected with the series of tales to which we must now turn.

These narratives do have certain points of contact with the *Man Tried by Fate*. Individual members and even groups have borrowed one or more characteristics or episodes from our cycle and have in turn influenced some of its members. The points of contact will be considered in due course.¹ For our immediate purpose, it will be sufficient to show that they do not belong in essential outline with the cycle which forms the subject of our present study. This series is, however, so multifarious that it almost baffles classification, much more a name which shall include all its members, though it is usually called *The Calumniated Wife*. It comprises, roughly speaking, the following sagas: *Crescentia*, *Constance*, *Offa*, *Euriaut*, *Helena*, *Genovefa*, *Hirlanda*, *Griselda*, *Oliva*, *Sibilla*, *Octavian*, *Florence*, *Valentine* and *Orson*, *Berte*, *Floovant*, *Eglamour of Artois*, and *Torrent of Portynagle*. The complexity of the subject is at once apparent from this enumeration, and it will be readily acknowledged by everyone who has tried to thread the labyrinthine entanglement.

By speaking of these stories as a group I do not mean to imply that all of them are closely connected, nor that one motive is the predominant one in all, but simply that they are tales of a more or less similar character which could probably be tabulated to good purpose were sufficient data at hand.² As far as they are related at all, they tell how a

¹ See chap. VII.

² See Kittredge, *Arthur and Gorlagon*, 1903, p. 241, note, for a partial list of studies.

woman is driven from home by her husband or some enemy, how she gives birth to a child (sometimes twins) either before or after leaving home, how she has other adventures that are equally trying, and how she is finally reunited to her husband and exonerated from the charges which have been made against her. Dr. Ogden assumes¹ that such a motive ran parallel with that of the *Man Tried by Fate* and so connects the two. But surely they are essentially unlike and can best be treated separately. As safely could the story of *Robert of Sicily*, and similar tales of kings who are sent forth from their dominions to learn their true duties, be admitted as can this widespread cycle. To introduce it is simply to confuse and delay the work of separating the various groups of stories concerning heroes and heroines who have met with untoward adventures. A far better plan is to study by itself each set of tales which have a well-defined motive, as Prof. Mussafia has done with the *Crescentia* saga² and Dr. Gough with the *Constance* saga,³ for example.

I shall try to admit, then, into the body of the present discussion only such stories as conform to the motive stated above. These group themselves about the legend of *St. Eustace*; and considering the immense popularity of that legend throughout the Middle Ages there is a good deal of antecedent probability that it was largely influential in molding the form of the Occidental members of the cycle. Without insisting overmuch on such premises, it yet must be said that anyone who cares to deny the influence must of necessity bear the weight of argument. If it can be shown that the group of romances and romantic stories in European literature, which I shall treat, have the same essential motive as the *Eustace-Placidus* legend, and furthermore that the modifications of detail which they exhibit can

¹ P. 23.

² *Beiträge zur Crescentiasage*, 1866.

³ *The Constance Saga*, 1902 (*Palaestra* xxiii).

be explained by reference to other sagas that might easily influence them in the given conditions, chronological and geographical, it will seem reasonably certain that the legend was their parent. The question is greatly complicated by the existence of the Oriental versions, but they furnish just so much more material for analysis and comparison, an incomparable background against which the movement of the European forms can be displayed, as well as a check against the errors which are so likely to attend this kind of work.

A word may be added concerning the probable connection between the European and the Oriental versions. Given a number of each, it is inherently more probable that the former derive from the latter through one member than through several. If an Occidental version be found which is more widespread than any of the others, and if that version contained at a sufficiently early date all the essential elements of the plot as found in the others, it is probable that the version in question was the parent form in Europe. Such are some of the considerations which first led me to believe that the *Eustace* legend was influential in forming the group of semi-religious romances, which under different names and with many changes in detail spread over Europe between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries but still kept the essential features of the legend.

II.

THE MATERIAL IN ORIENT AND OCCIDENT.

The stories with which we must immediately concern ourselves come from many different countries of Asia and Europe. They differ widely in details, yet all of them are of the same general type and have the same central theme. I shall first summarize and discuss the Oriental versions.

1. The first narrative of the series¹ is found in the collection of Sanskrit tales known as the *Daça-kumāra-charita* or *Adventures of the Ten Princes*,² by Daṇḍin, which was probably written in the sixth century A. D.³

A merchant, named Ratnodbhava, marries Suvritta, the daughter of a rich man of Kālayavana. While returning to the husband's native land they are shipwrecked and separated. The young wife comes to land in the company of her maid and soon gives birth to a son. The maid takes the child and while appealing to a man for aid is frightened by a wild elephant. She drops the infant, which is seized by the elephant. The latter is attacked by a lion and in

¹Ogden refers to a story in the Sanskrit epic, *Rāmāyana* as the oldest version of the motive. It is in reality rather an analogue of *The Calumniated Wife* than of the *Man Tried by Fate*. The *Rāmāyana* is now generally regarded as later than the *Mahābhārata* but perhaps existed in its primitive form as early as the fifth century B. C. (Monier-Williams, *Indian Epic Poetry*, p. 3; Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 309). The story in question is found in the seventh book, an addition to the original work that dates from the second century B. C. or later. In the translation by Manmatha Nath Dutt, 1891-94, the tale is found, pp. 1717 ff. It is summarized by Monier-Williams, p. 88. Rama banishes his wife Sita because of aspersions that have been cast on her chastity. He sends her to the hermitage of Valmīkī, the poet, where she gives birth to twin sons. These boys are reared in the solitude and learn the *Rāmāyana*. When they grow up they wander to their father's court, where they recite the poem and by means of questions are recognized. Rama sends for Sita and on her arrival prays the goddess Earth to bear witness to her purity if she is innocent, whereupon the earth opens and receives her. The allusions to the poem in the story mark the seventh book, which is the last, as a work much later than the body of the epic. It is, however, earlier than any of the tales that belong to the cycle of the *Man Tried by Fate*. This does not make it advisable to include in our study a narrative essentially foreign to the cycle.

²*Hindoo Tales or, The Adventures of Ten Princes freely translated from the Sanscrit of the Dasakumaracharitam*, by P. W. Jacob, 1873, pp. 19-22, 51-56; *Une tétrade ou drame, hymne, roman et poème*, trans. H. Fauche, 1862, II, pp. 18-21, 41-44.

³Macdonell, p. 332. Jacob, p. vi, gives its date as the eleventh century.

turn lets the child fall, when it is taken up by a monkey which drops it at the cries of the man to whom the nurse had appealed. The man picks up the boy and carries him to the king, who has the child reared at his expense. When he is seventeen, the lad sets out with the king's son to seek adventures. He finds his father, who after long searching for his wife has just thrown himself from the top of a cliff. The cries of the young man call to the rescue his mother, who after this long delay has just decided to throw herself into a fire. By means of the story of the nurse a mutual recognition takes place, and all ends happily.

2. The next story¹ is from a Singhalese translation of a Pali commentary on the *Discourses of Buddha* and concerns the *Wessantara Jātaka*, that is, the incarnation of Buddha as Wessantara.

A king desired a son, and in answer to his vows Wessantara was born, a child who could speak from the time of his birth. When he grew up, he took a wife and had two children, a son and a daughter. Because he gave the sacred white elephant to the brahmans in order to obtain rain for his father-in-law's domain, the citizens demanded that he be exiled. His wife insisted on following him; and so after giving away their wealth they set out in a chariot with their children. The chariot also they gave to brahmans whom they met in the forest. For seven months they lived as hermits, the children with their mother, Wessantara by himself. Then came a brahman who demanded the children for servants. They were given to him and were harshly treated. Finally, the god Sekra assumed the form of an aged brahman and asked Wessantara for his wife. To this he agreed, when Sekra revealed himself and gave back the woman. The children were then taken to the court of their grandfather,

¹ R. Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, 1860, pp. 116 ff.

who soon recalled the exiles and gave them all their former wealth and honor.

This story must have originated before the ninth century, since about that time we find that it existed in a somewhat distorted form in another language.¹

3. This version is the Tibetan tale of Visvantara,² which Ralston believes³ was translated from the Sanskrit about the ninth century.

Visvantara, the son of a king, gives away his property lavishly and at last even his chariot and elephant. He is cast off by his father, whereupon he makes a vow to redeem mankind and goes into exile, followed by his wife, who insists upon accompanying him. With him also go his son and daughter. He now gives to the brahmans successively the last of his possessions, his son and daughter, and his wife. The woman is soon brought back by the god Sakra in his proper form, since he had assumed the appearance of a brahman only to try Visvantara. The son and the daughter are taken to the king, who then sends for the prince and his wife at their hermitage.

4. A story much more closely allied to the Occidental versions of the *Man Tried by Fate* is that of *The King who Lost Kingdom and Wife and Wealth and Allah Restored them to him*, which is found in the collection *King Shah Bakht and his Wazir Al-Rahwan*, a compilation embodied in the *Arabian Nights' Entertainment*.⁴

A king of India, who was blessed with a wife and two sons, lost his domain in war and set forth as an exile with

¹ It may be considerably earlier. See the following tale.

² *Tibetan Tales translated from the . . . Kah-Gyur by F. A. von Schiefner*, translated from the German by W. R. S. Ralston, 1882, pp. 257 ff.

³ P. xxvi.

⁴ As the twenty-sixth tale. Translation of R. F. Burton, *Supplemental Nights*, vol. I, pp. 319 ff. ; of Habicht, von der Hagen, and Schall (Breslau ed. *Tausend und eine Nacht*), vol. XIV, pp. 133 ff.

his family. While crossing a stream in the forest he lost his children. He left his wife on an island and started in search of them, but returned unsuccessful. Later he lost his wife, who was enticed on board a ship and carried off by the sailors. He then wandered till he came to a city by the sea, where he was chosen king because of the actions of the late king's elephant when it met him. One day a ship came to port bearing his wife in the power of a magician, who had vainly attempted to make her accept his advances. While the king's servants were examining the wares of the ship, she was shut up in a chest and in that position heard her sons, who had by chance taken service with the king, recall the adventures of their childhood. She communicated with them and was rescued by the youths, who took her to the king. From the stories of the three he recognized his family but gave no sign of it till the following day, when before the full court he told his story.

The precise date at which this tale was taken into the Arabic cannot be given. Its provenance from the Persian is, however, practically beyond dispute;¹ and there is no good reason for doubting that it existed in the Pahlavi tongue, the official language of the Sassanid empire (226-641 A. D.). This relationship will be considered later on.

5, 6, 7, 8. A version somewhat similar to that outlined above is found in the *Ten Viziers*, which was also incorporated in the *Arabian Nights*. It is known as the *Story of Abu-Szaber the Patient*.²

Abu-Szaber was a rich leaseholder who patiently suffered the loss of his property by the depredations of wild beasts and the demands of his king. After the further loss of his two sons, who were carried off by robbers, he left home with his wife. While he had crossed a stream to procure food in

¹ See, e. g., Burton, *Supplemental Nights*, I, p. 191, note.

² Translation of Habicht, etc., x, pp. 115 ff.

a city, a mounted man robbed him of his wife. He then worked as a laborer on a royal palace until he angered the king and was cast into an underground dungeon formerly occupied by the king's brother. As the result of a revolution he was taken from his prison, mistaken for the prince, and made king. Into his power fell the robbers who had taken his sons, with the youths themselves, whom he recognized by their story. Then came to his court the man who had carried off his wife, with the complaint that she would not fulfil her duties as spouse. When he had cut off the man's head, he told the people his story and thenceforward lived in happiness with his family.

This tale, like the rest of the collection known as the *Ten Viziers*, must antedate the fourteenth century at least. This is proved by the fact that the same story in slightly different form is found in the Persian romance *Bakhtyar Nāma*,¹ which, as Dr. Ogden justly concludes,² was composed not later than the fourteenth century. Indeed, the *Bakhtyar* is simply the Persian form of the *Ten Viziers* and exists also in Turki and Malay.³

In the Persian version of our story the hero is known as Abū Saber, and his adventures differ from those of the Arabian in the following points only. The destruction of his property by wild beasts is not mentioned; his sons are carried away after he has set out from home; the fact that he has crossed a stream at the time when his wife is abducted is not stated; the means by which he is chosen king is not specified; and the climax is much more succinct.

It is clear that this version is much less fully elaborated than that of the *Ten Viziers* and is probably later. I need not take the space to give the variations of the Malay and Turki, since the relations of the four have been discussed

¹ Translation of Sir Wm. Ouseley, ed. W. A. Clouston, 1883, pp. 46 ff.

² P. 19.

³ See Clouston, p. xxxv.

by Clouston¹ and since the latter two have only incidental interest for this study. Clouston's conclusion, however, should be stated at this point. "If, then, the Turkī version, which dates as far back as A. D. 1434, was made from the Arabic, and if the latter was translated, or adapted, from the Persian, it is not unlikely that the History of the Ten Viziers in its Arabian dress existed some time before the *Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night* was composed in its present form; and therefore the Persian version may be, as Lescallier conjectured, 'very ancient.'"²

9, 10, 11, 12. Another story, which is likewise found in the *Ten Viziers* and the later *Bakhtyar Nāma*, seems to belong to the same cycle, though the motive has been weakened and obscured. It is entitled in the Arabian the *History of the Jewel-Merchant*.³ In the *Bakhtyar Nāma*⁴ it is called the *Story of the Jewel-Merchant*.⁵ There are no essential differences in the tale as recounted by the Arabian and Persian writers. I summarize from the latter.

A merchant is summoned to court and kept there eight years. At the end of that time he sends for his wife, who has given birth to twin sons after his departure, and goes out to meet her. On the way he leaves his gold with his clothes on the shore while bathing. When he comes out of the water, he finds two boys playing near, whom he casts into the sea. He then meets his wife and learns that the boys were his sons. Of the two children Bihrūz is saved by a king, whose successor he ultimately becomes, and Rūzbih by robbers, who sell him to his father. When grown, Rūzbih visits his brother's court, where through a misunderstanding of his intentions in guarding the drunken

¹ Pp. xxxvi ff.

² P. li.

³ Translation of Habicht, etc., x, pp. 166-179. Seventh of the *Viziers*.

⁴ Found also, it will be remembered, in Turki and Malay.

⁵ Clouston, pp. 87 ff.

king he is imprisoned for two years. At the end of that time his condition is discovered by the father and mother, who go to the king and tell their tale, whence comes mutual recognition.

13. Another story which appears in two versions, Arabian and Hebrew, has preserved the original motive much more clearly than the group just considered. The former is found in some collections of the *Arabian Nights*¹ as the story of the *Pious Israelite*.

A good Hebrew was adjured by his dying father never to take an oath, whether true or false. He was accordingly robbed of his wealth by perjurers and set out from home with his wife and two sons. They suffered shipwreck and were separated, the wife being carried to a village on the coast, one son cast up at a town near by, the other rescued by a passing vessel, and the man himself driven upon an island where he eventually found treasure and became king of a new city. The sons came thither and took service with their father, though they were ignorant of their relationship. Thither also came the merchant who had married the wife. While guarding the ship the sons related their adventures to one another in the hearing of their mother, who under the pretense that they had insulted her caused that all of them be carried before the king. There the youths told their stories, and the father and mother declared themselves.

14. The Hebrew tale differs from the above in some particulars. It is found in *Midrasch on the Decalogue*.²

¹ I cite from the translation by Weil, Lewald's ed., 1834-41, iv, pp. 54 ff. It is given more briefly in the Habicht translation, xi, pp. 214 ff.

² In Jellinck's *Beth. Hamidrasch*, i, 72. I take the story from Joseph Perles, *Zur rabbinischen Sprach- und Sagekunde*, 1873, p. 58, with some additions from the account of it by Israel Lévi, "The Pious Israelite or Histoire d'un homme qui ne voulait pas jurer," *Revue des études juives*, xi, p. 229. Perles gives the climax of the story somewhat indistinctly. Lévi's article also appears in his *Trois contes juives*, 1887, p. 25.

Up to the loss of property the events are the same as in the Arabian version. At that point the man is imprisoned, and the wife does washing to support the family. One day while with her children by the shore she is carried off by sailors, who toss the boys a coin. The sons report the misadventure to their father and set out from home with him. In swimming across a stream with the younger boy the man is borne away by the current, while the child is cast back on the shore, whence with his brother he is taken by a ship. The father becomes a shepherd and, by finding treasure, the king of a new city. To his court come first his sons, who are recognized by their story, and later the wife, who is thus reunited to her family.¹

The relationship between these two versions will be discussed later. It is sufficient for the present to indicate that, in spite of its more defective character, the Hebrew is probably earlier in point of time (at least in the form given above), since it seems not to have belonged to the earlier compilations of the *Arabian Nights*, and since the *Midrasch*, according to Zunz,² is a work of the tenth century. The two, however, are very closely allied.

15. The following tale is an Armenian legend³ which was narrated by a native in the nineteenth century. It is interesting as showing the survival of the story in Asia and possibly some retroactive influence of the Occidental versions.⁴

A genius once came to a king and gave him his choice of good fortune in youth or old age. He chose the latter and soon lost his kingdom. He was robbed of his wife by a

¹ Perles says that the *youngest* son was carried away with his father, while the other *sons* were taken by sailors. This seems to be a fault in translation simply.

² Lévi, p. 228 ; d'Ancona, *Poemetti popolari italiani*, 1889, p. 421.

³ August von Haxthausen, *Transcaucasia*, English translation, 1854, p. 374.

⁴ See chap. iv.

merchant and while pursuing her with his two sons lost both of them, one being carried off by a wolf, the other by a stream. After wandering for many years, he was chosen king of another country because a white eagle descended upon him three times. To his court came the merchant and begged for a guard upon his wife whom he had in a chest. Two soldiers were sent to the ship, who related the adventures of their lives and discovered that they were brothers. The woman in the chest heard them, knocked, and was released. After hearing her story, the brothers took her to the king, who inquired into the matter and so discovered his family.

16. The last Oriental version to be summarized is that found in the *History of the Forty Viziers*,¹ a Turkish collection made between 1421 and 1451 from an Arabian original called *The Story of the Forty Morns and Eves*. The date is assured by the dedication to Murād II, and the provenance from the Arabian is stated by Sheykh Zāda in his dedication.² It is thus later than the Occidental tales which have our special interest but of considerable value in tracing the connection between the Asian and the European forms.

A king, long childless, receives a son of whom it is predicted by the astrologers that from his thirtieth to his sixtieth year he shall be afflicted and wander in strange lands. When

¹ *History of the Forty Vezirs, written in Turkish by Sheykh Zāda, done into English* by E. J. W. Gibb, 1886, 13th Vezir's Story, pp. 151-161. The collection was first translated into a European language by P. de la Croix as *L'Histoire de la Sultane de Perse et des Visirs*, 1722, but this is incomplete. Our tale appears as the 9th Vizier's Story. From the French came the *Turkish Tales*, 1809, referred to by Dunlop, *Hist. of Fiction*, ed. 1842, II, p. 352. Another incomplete translation was made by Belletète, *Contes Turcs en langue turque, extraits du Roman intitulé Les Quarante Vizirs*, 1812, in which our story does not appear. In the later German translation by Behrnauer, *Die vierzig Veziere oder weisen Meister*, 1851, which is as complete as Gibb's, our tale appears as the 14th Vizier's Story.

² See Gibb, pp. viii, ix.

grown, he marries and has two sons. While on a voyage with his boys and forty servants, he is taken captive by Frankish corsairs, who keep the children but sell the prince and his servants to cannibals. Day by day the cannibals eat one of the company till the prince only is left. He escapes to a great city where he marries the king's daughter, after whose death he is cast into a pit with her body. There he finds a young bride in similar case, with whom he escapes through an underground passage. After some hair-raising adventures they reach a marvellous castle, which turns out to be the sepulchre of a great king. For thirty years the prince wanders about in a boat, in the course of time apparently losing his companion, since at the end of the period he comes to a court where he again marries a king's daughter and learns that he will henceforth be happy. So after the death of the king he rules there until his sons appear as slaves of the Franks who carried them off. They are recognized, the Franks slain, and everything righted.¹

The Occidental versions of the *Man Tried by Fate* are widely scattered in the literatures of mediæval and modern Europe. Some of them were so well-known that their very popularity makes it difficult to say just how and where they influenced allied stories. According to the method outlined above, however, I have rigorously excluded from this part of the discussion all tales which have single incidents only in common with the motive. The summaries are here given in roughly chronological order.

¹In the version of de la Croix the story is varied in a manner which would make it of the highest interest could we be assured that the text was tolerably accurate. The lady whom the prince meets in the pit bears two sons to him but is later placed by pirates on an island, where she becomes queen. To her and to her two children the prince is later reunited. I have not seen de la Croix's translation and take this information, as well as the earlier reference, from Gibb, p. 416 f.

1. The oldest and most widespread European variant is the legend of Placidus or St. Eustace, which is of uncertain date, though the earliest reference to the saint is found in John of Damascus in the eighth century. At all events, the legend became exceedingly popular as early as the tenth century, appeared in the Greek menologies, and was adapted from Greek and Latin into most of the European vernaculars.¹ The primitive form of the legend as found in the Greek and Latin of the *Acta Sanctorum*² runs as follows:

A certain Placidus was the commander of the army of Trajan, the Roman emperor. Though not a Christian, he was a good and generous man and lived righteously with his wife, by whom he had two sons. Fond of hunting, he pursued a stag one day till he outdistanced all his followers. Finally the stag turned upon him, and between its horns he saw a crucifix. Full of fear he heard the creature³ say that it was Christ who thus appeared to him that he might be converted. He believed the miracle, returned home, and told his wife. She believed also, since Christ had appeared to her in a dream shortly before. That night the couple took their boys and went to the bishop of Rome, who baptized them, Placidus as Eustathius, his wife as Theospita, and the two children as Agapius and Theospitus.⁴ On the

¹The most detailed account of the versions yet attempted is that of Knust in *Dos obras didácticas y dos leyendas*, Madrid, 1878, pp. 107 ff. I have catalogued these, together with several discovered later in *The North-English Homily Collection*, 1902, pp. 49 ff. Wagner, *The Sources of El Cavallero Cifar*, 1903 (reprinted from *Revue Hispanique*, x), p. 13, note 1, mentions a Latin version which "follows almost literally the version of the *Legenda Aurea*," in ms. 93, Bibl. Nac. of Madrid; and p. 14, note 4, an Old French version in ms. 9446, of the same library, previously alluded to by P. Meyer, *Bull. de la société des anciens textes français*, iv, 57.

²Sept., tom. vi, die 20, pp. 123 ff.

³The Latin versions differ a good deal on this point. Jacobus a Voragine in *Legenda Aurea*, cap. CLXI, ed. Graesse, p. 712, says, for example, that according to some accounts Christ spoke through the figure on the cross.

⁴The form of the names is different in the several Latin versions.

following day, Eustathius returned to the forest, where he again found the stag and was told that he must be tried like Job, but if faithful he should receive his reward.¹ On his return home he soon lost his slaves and cattle by pestilence, and after removal to another place the rest of his property by robbery. Rather than endure the shame of poverty he set out from home with his family, intending to go to Egypt. At the end of two days they came to the sea and embarked on a ship. When it was discovered that they had no money, the captain offered to keep Theospita on account of her beauty and to pay Eustathius for her. The husband refused and was thrown into the sea, whence he made his way to the land and with sorrowful heart set forth with his children. Soon he came to a river and forded it with one boy on his shoulders. While returning for the second he was shocked to see a lion carry off one child and a wolf the other. In despair, he likened himself to Job and went on to a town named Badyssus, where he worked as a laborer for fifteen years. The children, however, were saved from the lion and the wolf, the one by shepherds, the other by ploughmen, and, though unknown to one another, were brought up in the same village. Meanwhile, Theospita was saved from the captain by the mercy of God and supported herself as a seamstress in the country whither she had been taken. At last Trajan found himself in sore distress through the want of Eustathius as commander and sent in search of him. Two of the soldiers came to Badyssus and were served by him, though he would not admit that he knew anything of Placidus till they recognized him by a scar on his forehead.

¹ In the *Speculum Historiale* by Vincent of Beauvais, x, cap. 58-61, and in the *Leg. Aurea*, ed. Graesse, p. 714, he is definitely offered the choice of trial in this life or sorrow in the next. I quote from the former: "Dic ergo si modo temptationem vis accipere aut in fine vite." Eustace chooses the former and prays for the virtue of patience.

He was then taken back to Rome and received with great honor. In the army of which he was given command were his two sons, who came to his notice as able soldiers and were enrolled in his body-guard. The army on campaign encamped in the town where Theospita lived, and her sons lodged in her house. While there, they related to one another the stories of their childhood, and not only discovered that they were brothers but were recognized by their mother. Thereupon she went to Eustathius to relate her story and to ask him to take her to Rome. Mutual recognition followed, and after the defeat of the barbarians they returned with triumph to Rome. Meanwhile, Trajan had been succeeded by Hadrian, who was an intolerant pagan. Eustathius refused to sacrifice to Apollo and proclaimed himself a Christian. Accordingly, together with his family, he was thrown to a lion; and when the beast refused to harm them they were placed in a brazen ox, heated white hot. So without fear and in prayer, they suffered martyrdom. When their bodies were taken out on the third day, they were found to be unsinged and were given burial by the Christians.

2. Of the stories which I take to be derivatives of the above legend, the oldest is the romance of *Guillaume d'Engleterre*, which in its earliest form was composed in the second half of the twelfth century. This is a poem of 3366 verses, which is now generally believed to be the work of Chrestien de Troyes in his later years.¹ It has been twice edited, first by F. Michel,² and latterly by W. Foerster in his edition of

¹ Into the question as to whether the "Crestien" named in the beginning of the romance was the poet of Champagne I cannot enter. It is sufficient to say that the arguments of Rudolf Müller in his dissertation, *Untersuchung über den Verfasser der altfranzösischen Dichtung Wilhelm von England*, 1891, and of Foerster in *Christian von Troyes, Sämtliche erhaltene Werke*, iv, pp. clxiv ff., have not yet been satisfactorily answered. Professor Foerster concludes (p. clxvii) that "der Wilhelm erst nach dem Cligés entstanden muss."

² *Chroniques Anglo-Normandes*, 1836-40, III, pp. 39-172.

Chrestien's collected works.¹ In the latter part of the thirteenth century this gave rise to the *Dit de Guillaume d'Angleterre*, which was edited by Michel in the same volume with the earlier work.² In the course of the fourteenth century a translation of *Guillaume* was made into Spanish prose under the title *Estoria del rrey Guillelme de Ynglaterra*.³ Another Spanish version is the *Crónica del Rey don Guillelmo*,⁴ which dates from the sixteenth century and probably came from the *Estoria*.⁵ These four versions do not differ materially from one another. I subjoin a summary of Chrestien's poem.

Guillaume, a king of Engleterre, was wise and humble. Both he and his wife Gratiana (Graciene) were lovers of God, but for six years after marriage they had no children. At length, when the queen was near the time of her delivery, Guillaume heard a voice in the night, which said, "Rois, va an essil!" He consulted his confessor, who advised him to make amends for the wrongs that he had done and to give generously of his possessions. Again he heard the voice and saw a light. His spiritual adviser now told him that if the voice came a third time he might depart in the assurance that it was God's will. So he gave away all that he had, as did his wife without his knowledge, for she too had seen the

¹ IV, pp. 253-360.

² Pp. 173-211. Both poems were reprinted from Michel by Giles, *Scriptores Rerum Gestarum Willelmi Conquestoris*, 1845, pp. 179-297.

³ Ed. by Knust, *Dos obras didácticas y dos leyendas*, pp. 171-247.

⁴ Printed by Knust, pp. 299-403.

⁵ So Foerster believes, as against Knust who thought that it came from a Latin original. Ogden (p. 27) says that it was taken from a hypothetical Anglo-Norman reworking of the original *Guillaume*, "although the resemblance in episode between the *Estoria* and *Chronica* would point to some connection between the two." As this judgment rests upon some assumptions as to related stories that I shall discuss later (see chap. v), I need only state here that I treat the various forms of *Guillaume* as a group by themselves.

vision. Again he heard the voice commanding him to go and rose to obey, but he was stayed by his wife who insisted upon accompanying him in spite of his entreaties. So they set forth from Bristot together and after wandering in the forest took refuge by a sheltered rock near the sea. There the queen brought forth twin sons, whom the father wrapped in the skirts of his mantle, which he cut off with his sword. They were overtaken by hunger and even discussed the possibility of eating one of the children. After deciding to look elsewhere, Guillaume went to the sea, and there he found some merchants to whom he applied for help. They returned with him and because of Gratiana's beauty carried her off to their ship on a litter, throwing the husband five besants in a red purse, which he disdained to touch. He then carried one babe to the shore and placed it in a boat. As he returned for the other he saw a wolf carry it away, and after an unsuccessful chase he was overcome by fatigue. Meanwhile, the infant was rescued from the wolf by a company of merchants who later found the other boy in the boat. Two of their number adopted the children and promised to rear them as their own. After Guillaume returned to the shore and found his other son gone, he went back to the rock and was about to take the purse which was left there, when an eagle seized it and bore it away. He then wandered about till he fell in with some merchants who took him to Galveide where he took service and was known as Gui.

The queen meanwhile was carried to Sorline, where the sailors disputed for the possession of her till the affair came to the notice of the lord of that place, who took her to his wife. Soon the wife died, and Gratiana was prevailed upon to wed him, after she had obtained the promise that the marriage should not be consummated for a year. Within the year he died and left her in power. The two children

had been taken to Quathenasse, where they grew up in the same town and were inseparable companions. When young men, they left home because they disliked the trade of their foster-fathers and went into the forest. There they killed a deer contrary to law, and, in consequence, they were brought before the king of the land who took them into his service. Guillaume in the meantime rose in the confidence of his employer and, after an absence of twenty-four years, returned to Bristot as a merchant, where he learned that his nephew still reigned as regent and was honored by him because of his resemblance to his missing uncle. Guillaume put to sea and was driven to Sorline by a storm. In accordance with the custom of the land that foreign merchants must give to the lord of the castle whatever was asked, Gratiana came on board to examine his wares. She recognized him by a ring and by a horn which he had bought at Bristot. He likewise recognized her; but neither gave any sign of it. After a dinner at the castle, Guillaume rode out to hunt and passed into the territory of the hostile king of Quathenasse, where he was attacked and about to be slain by two young knights when he told his story and announced that he was king of Engleterre. Thereupon the purse of gold miraculously dropped from the clouds, and the two knights, who had hitherto not suspected their relationship, revealed themselves. The next day all of them went to Gratiana, whither came the nephew to restore the kingdom. Thus reunited they lived long in prosperity and piety.

3. Nearly related to *Guillaume*, as is acknowledged by all, is *Wilhelm von Wenden*,¹ a Middle High German romance by Ulrich von Eschenbach, which, according to Toischer,²

¹ *Wilhelm von Wenden ein Gedicht Ulrichs von Eschenbach*, ed. W. Toischer, Prag, 1876, in Martin's *Bibliothek der mittelhochdeutschen Litteratur in Boehmen*, Bd. I.

² P. xxxiii.

was written between 1287 and 1297. The beginning of the poem, as he further shows,¹ "ist nichts als ein Stück böhmischer Geschichte;" but the remainder follows the Guillaume story as closely as could be expected of a romantic narrative. The precise relationship between the Old French poem and *Wilhelm* can best be discussed later on.

A certain prince in Wenden died, leaving a son named Wilhelm who was twelve years old. The boy was counselled by the father of the maiden to whom he had been betrothed. After he reached his majority and married, he continued to live in prosperity and honor till he heard of Christ from some pilgrims and determined to go forth as a pilgrim himself. One night he prepared to set out in the search of Christ, when his wife discovered his intention and insisted upon accompanying him, in spite of the fact that she was pregnant. At Bene's instance, he then made a great feast, gave away his property, and arranged for the government of the country during his absence. Accompanied by their chamberlain, they afterward departed. In a forest Bene gave birth to two boys who were wrapped in the skirts of their father's mantle. As she was unable to nourish the children, Wilhelm had the chamberlain sell them to some Christian merchants in a city near the forest. They then found refuge with a widow in the same city, with whom Wilhelm left his wife with a third of the money obtained from the sale of the children, while he went to Jerusalem where he was baptized by the patriarch. Bene bewailed her loss but remained in the city, beloved by all. After the death of the duke of the land and a civil war which lasted for five years, she was elected duchess. (Apparently she agreed to take a husband after a year and excused herself at the end of that time; but on account of a lacuna this is not

¹ P. xxiii.

clear.) When she had reigned five years, she heard of her husband's adventures from a pilgrim.

The sons, who were separated, learned when they were eighteen years of age that they were not the children of the two men by whom they had been adopted. They met by chance and after other adventures came to a forest in the realm of their mother where they dwelt as robbers. Wilhelm came by chance to his wife's city and was questioned by her as were all pilgrims, but he replied evasively. He persuaded her to let him treat with the robbers against whom she was about to send an army, and by means of certain adornments which they wore discovered their identity, though he did not reveal himself. He brought the youths to court and was so noticeably troubled every time he looked at them that Bene again questioned him and learned his story. She, however, did not reveal herself till she had summoned a great company for a feast, to which came her father and mother among others. When he heard her story Wilhelm would not consent to remain with her till she promised to become a Christian. Thus after twenty-four years the family was reunited. They then ruled over their new realm and their old till they were sixty years old, when they retreated to a monastery and left their sons as rulers.

4. Of equally well-marked religious character is *Die gute Frau*,¹ a Swabian romance of the thirteenth century.²

A certain lord of Barria leaves a beautiful daughter as his heiress. When she grows up she marries the son of a faithful vassal of her father, who has loved her from childhood. While hunting one day, the husband comes to a mill where he sees twelve poor persons asleep and learns that the miller constantly supports a dozen unfortunates. He reflects that

¹*Die gute Frau, Gedicht des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts*, ed. E. Sommer, *Zts. f. deutsches Alterthum*, II, pp. 385-481. An analysis of it was made by F. Wolf, *Ueber die neuesten Leistungen der Franzosen*, 1833, p. 75.

²Sommer, p. 385, Vogt in Paul's *Grundriss*, II¹, 294.

he has done little for the Lord and the next day tells his lady that he has resolved to give up all for God. She consents to the sacrifice. So they give away their lands and throne and in disguise go forth as pilgrims. In the wilderness the lady gives birth to twin boys. After sore trials they find shelter in a city, where they remain till the children are somewhat grown, but again fall into misery and for two days have no food. In this extremity the man sells his wife at her request for two pounds and, putting the money in a red purse, sets out with his sons. Coming to a stream called the Seine, he carries one child across and is returning for the other, when the bridge breaks and he is swept away by the current. The boys are found, one by the Bishop of Riems, the other by the Count of Urliens. When the father returns and discovers his loss, he sinks down in despair and is then robbed of his purse by an eagle. The eagle, however, because of a fight with other birds, drops the purse at the feet of the wife, who mourns her lord as dead. She is bought as governess by a merchant, and later by the Count of Bleis, who insists on marrying her. With him she lives in continence till his death, as she does later, by means of magic and prayer, with the king of France. The latter finally dies; and on the day appointed for her to choose a new husband and king she discovers her own lord among the poor to whom she gives alms. The recognition is accomplished by means of a finger which had been wounded in battle and dressed by the lady. After they have related their adventures the count and bishop bring forward their sons, now grown to young men. So they reign over France in prosperity. The king's name was Karelman, the queen's La bone dame.

5. A story of the very greatest interest for our study is that contained in the first book of *El Cavallero Cifar*,¹ a

¹ Ed. H. Michelant, *Historia del Cavallero Cifar*, 1872 (Bibl. des litt. Vereins in Stuttgart, cxii).

Spanish romance of the early part of the fourteenth century.¹ The author of the work drew on a variety of sources, as Dr. Wagner has shown in his clear and exhaustive study of the material, but the first part is complete in itself and certainly belongs to the *Eustace* cycle.

A good knight of India, named Cifar, has a wife and two sons. From the fact that all his horses and cattle die after he has owned them for ten days, and through the intrigues of enemies, he loses the favor of the king. In his affliction he prays and is comforted by Grima, his wife, who offers to share his woe. This moves him to tell her what he has before concealed, that he is the descendant of kings and as a boy has been told that he too will some day reign. They then sell what little property they have left and leave home with their sons. After ten days they arrive at Galapia, which Cifar relieves from a siege. Peace is concluded by the marriage of the Lady of the city to the son of her enemy. At the end of a month Cifar departs with his family, losing his horse on the tenth day as usual. Near the city of Mela, Cifar falls asleep beside a spring. While the boys frolic together, the elder, whose name is Garfin, is seized by a lioness. Cifar pursues without avail. So the grief-stricken parents enter the city, where the younger son, Roboan, strays away from the house in which they are lodged. They then resolve to cross the sea to the kingdom of Orbin; but Cifar is left on the shore by the wicked mariners, who sail off with his beautiful wife. Thus abandoned, the knight prays that as God reunited "Eustachio" and "Teospita," and their children "Agapito" and "Teospito," so He may reunite this scattered family. A voice from

¹ Michelant refers to it as probably of the first part of the fourteenth century. Knust, *Dos obras didácticas*, p. 93, believes that it was composed early in that century. Wagner, *Sources of El Cavallero Cifar*, pp. 9 ff., comes to the same conclusion from a careful consideration of the prologue.

heaven assures him that this will be accomplished. So he departs from the place.

Scarcely has he gone when a burgess of the city tells the witnesses of the scene that his dogs have rescued a child from a lioness and that he has adopted him, together with another boy whom his wife has found wandering in the streets. All conclude that these are the sons of the knight, but they cannot find him. Meanwhile Grima determines to escape from the clutches of the evil men by drowning but is restrained by the Virgin who causes them to slay one another. The vessel is then taken to the kingdom of Orbin under the direction of the Christ-child who appears above the sail. There the lady remains for nine years, when she again sets forth under the guidance of Christ. After leaving Mela, Cifar lives in a hermitage till he is warned by a dream of the good man to depart, followed by a "ribaldo" who has attached himself to him. They reach the city of Menton, which is besieged by the king of Ester. Cifar relieves the land and is given the hand of the king's daughter as his reward, but on account of her youth a delay of two years is appointed before the espousal. At the end of this time the king dies, and Cifar comes to the throne; but under pretence of expiating a great sin he lives in chastity. Grima finally comes thither, attracted by the fame of his goodness, and meets the queen, to whom she announces her intention of building a refuge for "fijos dalgo viandantes." She is brought before the king, and mutual recognition follows, though both keep silence. After some time their sons arrive at Menton to be knighted by the king and are entertained by Grima. By means of a conversation which is reported to her, she recognizes them as her sons and that night sleeps in the same chamber with them, talking of their adventures. When a messenger from the queen finds them thus in the morning, he reports the fact at court. Cifar condemns

Grima to be burned but fortunately questions the youths before executing the sentence. So he liberates the lady and, after suppressing a rebellion, raises his sons to high positions, at the same time knighting the Ribaldo. When but eight days are left of the two years of continence that Cifar has vowed, the unnecessary queen sickens and dies. Cifar then recognizes his family publicly and makes his elder son heir to the throne.

6. Of different character and more closely related to the other romance versions, I believe, is the story of *Sir Ysumbras*.¹ This romance is preserved in seven manuscripts, three prints (two of them fragments), and one transcript of a print.² It was composed in the northern part of the Midlands³ before the middle of the fourteenth century.⁴ It contains eight hundred and four lines and is written in the tail-rhyme stanzaic form.

Sir Ysumbras, a rich and brave knight, had a fair wife and three young sons. One day, while riding in the forest, he was greeted by a little bird as a messenger from the King of Heaven. When the alternative was presented to him, he chose poverty and woe in youth rather than in age. At once his horse fell dead, and his hounds ran into the wood. As

¹ Ed. Halliwell, *The Thornton Romances*, 1844, pp. 88-120; G. Schleich, *Sir Ysumbras. Eine engl. Romanze des 14. Jahrhunderts im Anschluss an die Vorarbeiten J. Zupitzas*, 1901 (*Palaestra*, xv). Utterson, *Select Pieces of Early Popular Poetry*, 1825, I, pp. 77-112, reprinted Copland's version.

² See Schleich, pp. 65 ff., where detailed descriptions are given.

³ So much it seems safe to say. See Schleich, p. 98, Wilda, *Über die örtliche Verbreitung der zwölfzeiligen Schweifreimstrophe*, 1887, p. 39, places it in "eine südliche Gegend Nord-Englands," but his attribution is not justified.

⁴ Schleich, p. 88, note, says: "Für die Bestimmung der Zeit, in der unsere Romanze entstanden ist, weiss ich keine andere Handhabe als das Alter der ältesten Hs. -C-, die in die zweite Hälfte des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts gesetzt wird." Since he shows that MS. C (Gonville and Caius College 175, Cambridge) stands in the fourth degree from the original, it is safe to assume that the work was composed at least as early as 1350.

he turned home, he was met by a boy who told him that his house was burned and his beasts all slain, further by his herdsmen who lamented that all his cattle had been stolen from them. He found his wife and children naked, just as they had escaped from the flames. His wife he clothed with his rich mantle, and for his boys he split his surcoat. Upon his bare shoulder he cut the sign of the cross, and turning with his family from home he passed through five kings' lands as a beggar. Coming to a stream, he carried his eldest son across on his shoulders, but while returning for the second son he lost the eldest to a lion. Similarly he lost the second son to a leopard, while bringing across his wife and youngest child. At length they came to the Greek sea where they met the Sowdan of the Saracens, who offered Ysumbras knighthood if he would believe in the heathen's god. Upon his refusal he was offered gold for his wife, who was taken from him by force. He was beaten and left with the treasure and one son. The lady was crowned queen by the Sowdan and sent over seas in a rich ship. Before she went, she was allowed a last interview with her husband, when they exchanged rings and planned to meet in the land whither she was bound. While Ysumbras with his son lay asleep under a tree, an eagle carried off his gold, to which it was attracted by the red mantle in which it had been wrapped. A unicorn now carried off his youngest son. For seven years Ysumbras served as a smith. Finally, when a great battle between the Christians and Saracens was toward, he put on the armor that he had made and fought so valiantly that he killed the Sowdan and won the victory. After he was healed of his wounds in a nunnery, he went as palmer to Acre and Jerusalem and at the latter place was fed and consoled by an angel. For seven years he was palmer, and after wandering through the lands of seven kings he came to the castle where his wife reigned as queen.

There he lived as a pilgrim and servant, pleasing the lady by his stories and his prowess of person. One day he found his gold, still covered with the red cloth, in a bird's nest. This he hid in his chamber, where it was discovered and brought to the queen. She recognized it and sent for Ysumbras, who told his story and was thus known. He was now crowned king. With his wife he fought against thirty thousand Saracens but was aided by his sons, who came clad as angels and mounted on a lion, a leopard, and a unicorn respectively. So Ysumbras made his sons kings also and lived in prosperity.

7. The last story in the form of a romance which here concerns us is *Der Graf von Savoien*,¹ a German work of the fifteenth century.² It contains three hundred and forty-five verses, written in alternative stanzas of eight and fifteen lines.

The book says that a rich and powerful count, who lived in Savoy, had a good and beautiful wife, the daughter of the king of France. One night, as they lay abed and thought how happy was their lot, there came a voice from God asking whether they had rather suffer eternal sorrow or endure earthly woe for ten years. They chose the latter and were soon overtaken by misfortune. Compelled to flee from home, they made their way towards Genoa, purposing to take ship with the merchants there. On the road the lady disclosed the fact that she had saved two gems worth twelve hundred crowns. They carried these in a rude casket, which was now seized by an eagle and carried high in the heavens. The count gave chase but returned in despair. So they went on to the sea and set sail in a ship with four merchants.

¹ Ed. J. J. Eschenburg, *Denkmäler altdeutscher Dichtkunst*, 1799, pp. 347-362. F. H. von der Hagen, *Minnesinger*, Pt. 4, p. 640, note, says that a better version than that printed by Eschenburg from a fifteenth century print is found in the Munich Meistersinger ms.

² Eschenburg, p. 345, says that it belongs "gegen die Mitte und in die letzte Hälfte des funfzehnten Jahrhunderts."

The merchants desired the lady and planned to drown the count, but on the advice of the eldest they offered him six hundred crowns for his wife. At her persuasion, but unwillingly, he finally agreed and was left on the shore after receiving a ring from her hand. He went into Lombardy where he served a noble lord. The lady was saved from the lust of the younger merchants by their older companion, who persuaded them rather to take her to the king of France in order to get the reward promised by him to the man who should bring him a beautiful maiden. So they carried her thither and were well rewarded. The lady consented to marry the king but asked for a delay of "a day, a week, a month, and a year." The king granted this and announced a great tournament, to which came the count in the train of his Lombard lord. His wife recognized him and revealed herself to the king, who was her own brother. So the count and his wife were restored to their land, where they ruled for many years.

8. An interesting variant of the same theme is found in the English reworking of the *Gesta Romanorum*,¹ which was made about the middle of the fifteenth century.² The story takes the place of the *Placidus* which is found in the Latin form of the *Gesta*,³ but it is by no means simply an independent reworking of the legend, as will be at once evident from the following summary. It is, on the other hand, closely related to the romantic tales of which I have already given abstracts.

A certain knight hears of a great feast that Averios, emperor of Rome, is preparing to give, and he determines to go thither. Before he sets out, he hears a nightingale

¹*Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum*, ed. S. J. H. Hertridge, E. E. T. S., xxxiii, ext. ser., 1879, pp. 87 ff.

²Hertridge, p. xix.

³Ed. Oesterley, pp. 444 ff.

singing in the forest and prays that he may know the meaning. He meets an old man who reveals to him that he must endure great suffering, and soon afterward he loses his property by fire. He leaves home with his wife and his two sons, who are three years old. After they have passed over the sea, his wife is seized by the mariners because the knight has no money to pay the fare. Her chastity is protected, however, and the owner of the ship dies. She then begs her bread. Meanwhile, the knight goes on towards Rome, but on the way he loses his children in crossing a stream, one to a lion and the other to a bear. He wins the tournament that the emperor has established at the feast and becomes master of the host. Later he finds a tri-colored gem, white, red, and black, which a lapidary says is a token of prosperity. In course of time he hires his own sons as soldiers. They are revealed by a conversation at their lodgings in the house of their mother, who has become the nominal wife of the master of horse to the emperor. She goes to the leader of the host with her story and recognizes him by a mark on his forehead. When he has been informed of his happiness, they journey to their own land.

9. Passing now from mediæval literary versions, it is necessary to note three narratives from folk literature collected in modern days. The first of these is the Danish ballad of *Sakarias*, which is found in Gruntvig's great collection.¹ The incidents of the ballad may be summarized thus.²

Sakarias, a wise man and a bold, goes out to hunt one Easter time. He sees a fine hart and draws his bow to shoot it, when it speaks, saying: "Hail! Sakarias, do not shoot me! Think upon the hard death God suffered for

¹*Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, II, pp. 605-607, from Rentzel's MS. 48. The ballad contains thirty-one couplets, with refrain.

²I give a rough paraphrase of what Köhler, *Zts. f. rom. Phil.*, III, 276, calls a "leider zum Theil lückenhaften und nicht recht verständlichen Lied."

thee!" He then sees a golden cross shining between the horns of the creature and falls to his knees with a prayer for forgiveness. He is asked whether he prefers to suffer woe or to bear sorrow at his end. After some thought, he chooses the former, though he looks regretfully at his land and castle. He takes his wife and children and goes toward the land of the emperor. There, at the castle bridge, the emperor's son meets them and says: "Hail! Sakarias, wretched man, how did you steal the fine woman?" "God help me in my need, I did not steal her! When she was young was she given to me." The prince then asks him to choose between giving up his wife or his own life. So he gives her up to the prince who takes her away. Thus matters stand for nine years. Sakarias becomes a fisherman and is seen from her balcony by his wife, who summons him. "Hail! Sakarias, wretched man! Have we any of our children still?" "Yes, we have a daughter, who is both fair and strong." The lady weeps when she sees her daughter poorly clad, and cries: "You were so little, you lay in your cradle; for you went to and fro ladies and proud maidens." Sakarias takes his wife by the hand and goes home to his land, where he lives in happiness.

10. Of somewhat less interest, because its derivation is less certainly popular, is the legend concerning St. Hubert, which finds expression in German folk-song.¹ To Hubert, the patron of hunting, is attributed the same adventure that befell Eustace. While hunting he meets a stag bearing the cross and thenceforward becomes "ein Jäger Gottes." Perhaps this fragmentary tale could better be treated in another place, but it is so clearly a reminiscence of the mediæval

¹Two versions are given by Simrock, *Die geschichtlichen deutschen Sagen*, no. 20, p. 46, that by Guido Görres (1805-1852), and no. 21, p. 47, another which is called simply a "Volkslied." Gruntvig, *Folkeviser*, II, 605, note, remarks the connection with *Eustace*.

legend that it seems wise to include it among the lineal descendants of *Eustace*.

11. A Breton ballad of undoubted authenticity well completes the series of *Eustace* derivatives. It was heard by Luzel in two forms and by him embodied in his *Chants populaires de la Basse-Bretagne*, 1868.¹ The first of the two versions is the more perfect and is entitled *Roue ar Romani* (the king of Romani²), but the second, which is called *Roue ar Mani*, adds some circumstances not given in the former.

According to the former,³ the king of Romani was told by a dove to quit his kingdom and go into Normandy to dwell. His wife insisted on following him. On their way they saw the body of Jesus in a silver chalice. When they came to the sea a boatman carried off the wife, promising falsely to return for the rest of the family. Because of his wickedness the boat was struck by lightning and the man drowned, while the queen escaped and became a servant in an inn. Meanwhile, the king lost his three sons, of whom the eldest fell off his father's back into the sea, the second was killed by a lion, and the youngest was carried off by a sea-wolf. The king then became a shepherd but was finally recognized by a shepherd, who knew him by his "fleurs de lys." With the shepherd he went to the inn where the queen worked and was recognized by her by means of his ring. Thereupon the three sons entered and said that they had been reared by "a white maiden from the depths of the sea." The sons, it is added, were St. Loup, St. Gili, and St. Bernardi. The second version⁴ gives the following additional details. When

¹ Vol. I, pp. 179 ff.

² Seemingly the word indicates the Romans, with *Mani* as a degenerate form.

³ Sung by Jeanne le Rolland at Pluzunet, in 1867. I cite from Luzel's translation.

⁴ Sung by Marie-Anne Lenoan, of the commune of Duault.

the family comes to the sea, the king demands that he be taken over free of charge, since he has given away his wealth. Evidently all the family go on the boat together and are wrecked, though nothing further is said of the children. The king is finally discovered by his barons.

III.

ANALYSIS AND COMPARISON OF MATERIAL.

Before the narratives which I have summarized in the preceding chapter can be arranged in family groups and the question of their relationship discussed, they must first be subjected to a careful analysis. Although absolute dependance cannot be placed on tabulation, as I have remarked in the introduction, the method has the advantage of exhibiting the characteristic events of the several tales in an easily comprehensible form.¹

¹ I use the following abbreviations for the narratives :

Oriental,

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|----------------|---|
| Sanskrit | = 1, <i>Ratnodbhava</i> in the <i>Daṣa-kumāra-charita</i> . |
| Wessantara | = 2, The tale from the Pali commentary. |
| Tibetan | = 3, <i>Visvantara</i> , Tibetan translation of the preceding. |
| Shah Bakht | = 4, <i>The King who Lost Kingdom and Wife</i> from <i>Arabian Nights</i> . |
| Abu-Szaber | = 5, <i>Abu-Szaber the Patient</i> from <i>Ten Viziers</i> . |
| Abu-Saber | = 6, Similar tale from <i>Bakhtyar Nāma</i> . |
| Jewel-Merchant | = 9, 10, 11, 12, from <i>Ten Viziers</i> and <i>Bakhtyar Nāma</i> . |
| Arabian | = 13, <i>Pious Israelite</i> from <i>Arabian Nights</i> . |
| Midrasch | = 14, Similar tale from <i>Midrasch on the Decalogue</i> . |
| Armenian | = 15, The folk-tale from von Haxthausen. |
| Forty Viziers | = 16, Tale from <i>History of the Forty Viziers</i> . |

Occidental,

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| Eustace | = 1, <i>Legend of St. Eustace</i> . |
| Guillaume | = 2, <i>Guillaume d'Engleterre</i> in its various forms. |
| Wilhelm | = 3, <i>Wilhelm von Wenden</i> . |
| Gute Frau | = 4, <i>Die gute Frau</i> . |
| Cifar | = 5, Part I of <i>El Cavellero Cifar</i> . |

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| I. The estate of the hero. | { | 1. King : Shah Bakht, Armenian, Guillaume, Wilhelm, Breton. |
| | | 2. Prince : Wessantara, Tibetan, Forty Viziers. |
| | | 3. Nobleman : Eustace, Gute Frau, Cifar, Ysumbras, Graf, Gesta, Sakarias, Hubert. |
| | | 4. Merchant or low born : Sanskrit, Abu-Szaber, Abu-Saber, Jewel-Merchant, Arabian, Midrasch. |
| II. Scene of tale. | { | 1. Hero and heroine start for home : Sanskrit. |
| | | 2. Hero leaves home with sons : Forty Viziers. |
| | | 3. Hero and heroine leave home : Wessantara, Tibetan, Shah Bakht, Abu-Szaber, Abu-Saber, Arabian, Midrasch, Armenian, Eustace, Guillaume, Wilhelm, Gute Frau, Cifar, Ysumbras, Graf, Gesta, Sakarias, Breton. |
| | | 4. Hero leaves home and sends for wife : Jewel-Merchant. |
| III. Reason for leaving home. | { | 1. Exiled because of generosity : Wessantara, Tibetan. |
| | | 2. Loss of kingdom : Shah Bakht, Armenian. |
| | | 3. Interviewed by genius : Armenian. |
| | | 4. Poverty : Abu-Szaber, Abu-Saber, Arabian, Midrasch, Eustace, Ysumbras, Graf, Gesta, Sakarias. |
| | | 5. Business : Jewel-Merchant. |
| | | 6. Travel : Forty Viziers. |
| | | 7. Meets stag in forest : Eustace, Sakarias, Hubert. |
| | | 8. Voice comes at night : Guillaume, Graf. |
| | | 9. Meets poor at mill : Gute Frau. |
| | | 10. Spell and intrigues : Cifar. |
| | | 11. Bird speaks : Ysumbras, Gesta (also old man), Breton. |
| | | 12. Pilgrims come : Wilhelm. |
| IV. Choice of woe given : | { | Armenian, Eustace, Ysumbras, Graf, Sakarias. |
| V. Property lost. | { | 1. By gift : Wessantara, Tibetan, Guillaume, Wilhelm, Gute Frau, Breton. |
| | | 2. By war : Shah Bakht. |
| | | 3. By wild beasts and king : Abu-Szaber, Abu-Saber. |
| | | 4. By robbers : Arabian, Midrasch. |
| | | 5. By act of providence : Eustace, Cifar, Ysumbras, Graf, Gesta, Sakarias. |

Ysumbras = 6, *Sir Ysumbras*.

Graf = 7, *Der Graf von Savoien*.

Gesta = 8, Tale from *Gesta Romanorum* in English.

Sakarias = 9, Danish ballad from Gruntvig.

Hubert = 10, *St. Hubertus*, German folk-song.

Breton = 11, Breton ballad, *Roue ar Romani*.

It should be noted that in *Cifar* the loss of property is not sequent upon some special event, but that it is of long continuance, culminating at the beginning of the story. In *Abu-Saber* the hero is stripped of his possessions by the king only, while *Abu-Szaber* probably has the original version.

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| VI. Two sons of hero. | { | 1. Born before departure : Wessantara (two children), Tibetan (two children), Shah Bakht, Abu-Szaber, Abu-Saber, Jewel-Merchant (twins), Arabian, Midrasch, Armenian, Forty Viziers, Eustace, Cifar, Ysumbras (three), Gesta, Sakarias (number not given, a daughter mentioned), Breton (three).
2. Born after departure : Guillaume, Wilhelm, Gute Frau (twins in each case).
3. Born after separation : Sanskrit (one son). |
| VII. Children wrapped in mantle : Guillaume, Wilhelm, Ysumbras (not at birth, however). | | |
| VIII. Loss of wife. | { | 1. After sons : Wessantara, Tibetan, Shah Bakht, Abu-Szaber, Abu-Saber, Wilhelm, Cifar, Ysumbras (2 sons, wife, last son).
2. Before sons : Armenian, Midrasch, Eustace, Guillaume, Gute Frau, Gesta, Sakarias, Breton.
3. At same time as sons : Arabian. |
| IX. Manner of loss of wife. | { | 1. Shipwreck : Sanskrit, Arabian.
2. Given away : Wessantara, Tibetan.
3. Deceit of mariners : Shah Bakht, Midrasch, Eustace, Cifar, Gesta, Breton.
4. Stolen : Abu-Szaber, Abu-Saber, Armenian, Sakarias.
5. Forced sale : Guillaume, Ysumbras, Graf.
6. Sale : Gute Frau.
7. Left behind voluntarily : Wilhelm. |
| X. Occasion of loss of sons. | { | 1. Given away : Wessantara, Tibetan.
2. In crossing stream or bay : Shah Bakht, Midrasch, Armenian, Eustace, Guillaume, Gute Frau, Ysumbras, Gesta, Breton.
3. Thrown into sea : Jewel-Merchant.
4. By shipwreck : Arabian.
5. By sale : Wilhelm.
6. By straying : Cifar. |

Under 2 it should be noted that in the Armenian only one son is carried away by the stream. In *Ysumbras* two

of the three sons are lost in crossing the stream, while the third—apparently a later addition—is carried off while the father lies asleep. In the *Breton* only one son is lost in the water, the other two are reserved for a lion and a sea-wolf. Under 6, in *Cifar* only the younger of the two brothers strays off, while the elder is seized by a lioness, somewhat, as in *Ysumbras*, the third son falls a victim to a unicorn, during the slumbers of the hero.

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| XI. Sons seized
by | { | 1. Elephant, lion, monkey in succession : Sanskrit.
2. Robbers : Abu-Szaber, Abu-Saber, Forty Viziers.
3. Wolf and current : Armenian.
4. Lion and wolf : Eustace, Breton.
5. Wolf : Guillaume.
6. Lioness : Cifar.
7. Lion, leopard, and unicorn : Ysumbras.
8. Lion and bear : Gesta. |
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Under 4, the *Breton* apparently substitutes the “sea-wolf” for a wolf of ordinary kind on account of the proximity to the sea, so that the essential fact is the same. Under 5, *Guillaume*, one son is seized by a wolf, while the other is left in a boat. Under 6, *Cifar*, events are as stated just above.

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| XII. Treasure. | { | 1. Received for wife : Midrasch, Guillaume, Gute Frau, Ysumbras, Graf.
2. Received for sons : Wilhelm.
3. Brought from home : Graf.
4. When found brings hero to fortune : Arabian, Midrasch, Ysumbras, Gesta. |
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It will be noted that none of the Oriental versions save *Midrasch* states that any payment was made for the stolen heroine, and that even in the *Midrasch* the coin tossed by the sailors to the sons plays no further part in the story. Moreover, it will be seen that most of the Occidental versions have the incident, though *Eustace* does not, a fact of which the importance will appear later. *Graf* has two treasures introduced, but that received for the heroine is not mentioned in the story again.

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| XIII. Treasure theme. | { | 1. Before loss of wife : Graf.
2. After loss of wife : Guillaume, Gute Frau, Ysumbras, Gesta. |
| XIV. Gems or rings as treasure. | { | 1. Brought from home : Graf.
2. When found bring fortune : Gesta. |
| XV. Treasure enclosed. | { | 1. In purse : Guillaume, Gute Frau.
2. In casket : Graf.
3. In mantle : Ysumbras. |
| XVI. Hero robbed of treasure by eagle : Guillaume, Gute Frau, Ysumbras, Graf. | | |
| XVII. Treasure recovered. | { | 1. By husband : Guillaume, Ysumbras.
2. By wife : Gute Frau. |
| XVIII. Adventures of hero. | { | 1. Hermit : Wessantara, Tibetan. |
| | | 2. Wanderer and king by chance : Shah Bakht, Armenian. |
| | | 3. Laborer, prisoner, and king by chance : Abu-Szaber, Abu-Saber. |
| | | 4. Merchant : Jewel-Merchant. |
| | | 5. Laborer and king : Arabian, Midrasch. |
| | | 6. Husband of princess, wanderer, and prince consort again : Forty Viziers. |
| | | 7. Servant and military leader : Eustace, Ysumbras. |
| | | 8. Servant and merchant : Guillaume. |
| | | 9. Pilgrim and warrior : Wilhelm. |
| | | 10. Beggar : Gute Frau. |
| | | 11. Recluse, warrior, and prince consort : Cifar. |
| | | 12. Retainer of a lord : Graf. |
| | | 13. Knight and military leader : Gesta. |
| | | 14. Fisherman : Sakarias. |
| | | 15. Shepherd : Breton. |

Under 7 it should be noted that in *Ysumbras* the hero becomes a pilgrim after he has served valiantly as knight, so that his adventures are essentially different from those of *Placidus-Eustace*.

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| XIX. Adventures of heroine. | { | 1. In power of merchant : Shah Bakht. |
| | | 2. In power of robber : Abu-Szaber, Abu-Saber. |
| | | 3. Married to merchant : Arabian, Midrasch, Armenian. |
| | | 4. Seamstress : Eustace. |
| | | 5. Widowed lady paramount : Guillaume. |
| | | 6. Elected duchess : Wilhelm. |
| | | 7. Widowed countess and queen : Gute Frau. |

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| XIX. Adventures of heroine. | } | 8. Traveller and keeper of refuge : Cifar.
9. Crowned queen by captor : Ysumbras.
10. Betrothed to King of France : Graf.
11. Beggar and wife of master of horse : Gesta.
12. Married to prince : Sakarias.
13. Servant at inn : Breton. |
| XX. Heroine preserves chastity in un- toward circumstances. | } | 1. In power of merchant or robber : Shah Bakht, Abu-Szaber, Abu-Saber.
2. Married : Abu-Szaber, Abu-Saber, Guillaume, Gute Frau, Ysumbras, Gesta.
3. In clutches of captors : Eustace, Guillaume, Gute Frau, Cifar, Ysumbras, Graf, Gesta, Breton. |

It is, of course, likely that where the fact is not clearly stated we should understand that the heroine was enabled to remain faithful to her husband. It is certainly worthy of note that most of the Occidental versions here fall into a group by themselves. In *Shah Bakht* and *Armenian* it is expressly stated that the heroine was found by her sons shut up in a chest on shipboard, which seems to show that she remained chaste. Moreover, since in the *Arabian* (and probably in *Midrasch*) she was found on shipboard, though the chest is not mentioned, the same is presumably true of them.

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| XXI. Adventures of sons. | } | 1. Adopted by king, seeks adventure : Sanskrit.
2. Servants : Wessantara.
3. Soldiers in service of hero : Shah Bakht, Arabian, Midrasch, Armenian, Eustace, Ysumbras, Gesta.
4. Brought to court by robbers : Abu-Szaber, Abu-Saber.
5. One adopted by king, other sold to father : Jewel-Merchant.
6. Come to court as slaves : Forty Viziers.
7. Reared by shepherds and ploughmen : Eustace.
8. Adopted by merchants, then in service of king : Guillaume.
9. Adopted by merchants, in service of king, robbers : Wilhelm.
10. Saved and produced by count and bishop : Gute Frau.
11. Adopted by same man, come to court to be knighted : Cifar.
12. Reared miraculously : Ysumbras, Breton. |
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| XXII. Sons discovered. | { <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. At home : Wessantara, Tibetan. 2. First to wife : Shah Bakht, Arabian, Armenian, Eustace, Cifar, Gesta. 3. First to hero : Sanskrit, Abu-Szaber, Abu-Saber, Midrasch, Forty Viziers, Guillaume, Wilhelm. 4. Simultaneously : Jewel-Merchant, Gute Frau, Ysumbras, Breton. |
| XXIII. Hero and heroine meet. | { <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. After they find sons : Sanskrit, Shah Bakht, Abu-Szaber, Abu-Saber, Arabian, Armenian, Eustace, Gesta. 2. Before they find sons : Guillaume, Wilhelm, Gute Frau, Cifar, Ysumbras, Breton. |

In *Guillaume*, *Wilhelm*, and *Cifar*, though the hero and heroine meet, they give no sign of recognition till the sons appear. I may say in passing that I regard this trait in *Cifar* as due to the influence of *Guillaume*, either in a Spanish redaction (not necessarily the *Estoria*) or in the Old French original.

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| XXIV. Hero and heroine meet at place where | { <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Hero is in power : Shah Bakht, Abu-Szaber, Abu-Saber, Arabian, Midrasch, Armenian, Eustace, Cifar, Gesta. 2. One son is in power : Jewel-Merchant. 3. Heroine is in power : Guillaume, Wilhelm, Gute Frau, Ysumbras, Graf, Sakarias. |
| XXV. Recognition of hero and heroine by means of | { <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Story of wife and sons : Shah Bakht, Arabian, Midrasch, Armenian. 2. Appearance of wife : Abu-Szaber, Abu-Saber. 3. Appearance of both : Eustace, Cifar, Sakarias. 4. Ring : Guillaume, Breton. 5. Story of husband : Wilhelm, Ysumbras. 6. Maimed finger of hero : Gute Frau. 7. Appearance of husband : Graf. 8. Mark on hero's forehead : Gesta. |

It should be mentioned that in *Eustace* the hero is recognized by his old soldiers by means of a scar on his forehead, a trait that in *Gesta* has been transferred to the recognition by the wife. In *Guillaume* a horn is introduced along with a ring as the means of identification.¹

¹ This recalls the horn and ring of the Horn saga, with the many parallel stories cited by Child, *English and Scot. Pop. Ballads*, I, 17, note. Add *Will Stewart and John, Percy Folio Ms.*, III, 226.

XXVI. Sons recog- nized by means of	{	1. Conversation overheard by heroine : Shah Bakht, Arabian, Armenian, Eustace, Cifar, Gesta.
		2. Telling story to hero : Abu-Szaber, Abu-Saber, Midrasch.
		3. Parents' story : Jewel-Merchant.
		4. Hero's story : Guillaume.
		5. Dress : Wilhelm.
		6. Direct announcement : Gute Frau.
XXVII. Time of sepa- ration (when speci- fied).	{	1. 17 years : Sanskrit.
		2. 30 years : Forty Viziers.
		3. 15 years : Eustace, Ysumbras (7 + 7 + time as warrior).
		4. 24 years : Guillaume, Wilhelm.
		5. 10 years (?) : Graf.
		6. 9 years : Sakarias.

This tedious tabulation has made it plain, I think, that the general theme or motive which was apparent from the summaries in the previous chapter has suffered some rather startling changes in the process of transmission. By confining our attention for the time being to these stories, however, it will become evident that there is very good reason for supposing that we have to do with a case of actual transmission from Orient to Occident by means of a saint's legend, that on *Eustace* all the European tales converge, and that *Eustace* can be grouped with its relatives from Asia. The complicated question of the numerous incidents which find parallels in stories outside our cycle can best be treated later.¹ I turn now to the consideration of *Eustace* and its forerunners.

IV.

EUSTACE AND THE ORIENTAL GROUP.

In discussing the relationship of the various tales from Asia to *Eustace* or its source, it will be necessary to discuss each version in the light of the tabulated characteristics as

¹ See chap. VII.

well as of geography and chronology. For convenience and clearness I shall consider them in four groups.

1. Though the *Sanskrit* is, as we have seen, later than some of the other Oriental versions, its importance is almost as great as if it could be regarded as the actual progenitor of the entire group of stories. In the first place, it is preserved in what we must probably consider the original language of the tale. Upon no other supposition can we explain the filiation of the stories. If the theory were adopted that the narrative moved eastward through the medium of Pahlavi into India the existence of the Buddhistic *Wessantara* in the ninth century at the latest would be incomprehensible, since there is no trace of the motive in western Asia before the tenth century (*Midrasch*), as far as I can discover. In the second place, this version of the *Daça-kumāra-charita* has not altogether divested itself, or at least does not stand clear, of the motives of *The Calumniated Wife*¹ and of *Kamaralzaman*.² As in the former, the son is born to the heroine after she has been separated from her husband; and as in the latter, the couple are making their post-nuptial journey to the home of the hero when evil fate overtakes them. The story from the *Rāmāyana*,³ which seems to me essentially a form of *The Calumniated Wife*, has somewhat the same character in that the motive is still obscure. If it be true, as Ogden believes,⁴ that a story of an unfortunate woman arose side by side with a story of an unfortunate man, this early fusion of types in the native land of the motive cannot be regarded as at all remarkable. For the present purpose it is unnecessary to inquire further, since it is clear that the narrative has some of the essential traits of the *Man Tried by Fate*. I regard it, however, as an independent offshoot of the original, for though in tables XI

¹ See chap. VII.

² See chap. V.

³ See p. 344, note.

⁴ P. 23.

and XXIII it shows important characteristics of the Oriental group, in most other places it stands by itself. So in XXI the disposal which it makes of the sons differs altogether from that found in any other version.

2. The Buddhistic *Wessantara Jātaka* can best be discussed in company with its Tibetan counterpart of *Visvantara*. As before noted,¹ the original of the former must be as old as the ninth century, since the Tibetan version was made at that time. The Singhalese form, from which *Wessantara* is cited, is, of course, modern. Thus even without the internal evidence afforded by the two versions used it would be evident that both go back to a common original. The story from Tibet represents the northward course of the Sanskrit; the story from Ceylon by way of Pali (the sacred language of southern India) represents the movement southward. By internal evidence this relationship is substantiated, because the *Tibetan*, though it follows the same outline of events as *Wessantara*, is weak in details. Thus from table XXI it will be seen how *Wessantara* specifies that the children are made servants and ill-used while the *Tibetan* makes no account of their adventures.

The common original of the two, the Sanskrit *Wessantara*, represents, like the *Sanskrit*, a separate branch of the general theme. It will be seen from the following facts in how many points it differs from the branch that found its way into Pahlavi and Arabian. Table I shows that only the *Forty Viziers*, a greatly weakened form of the Arabian family, is like it in making the hero a prince. In II and VI it falls together with most of the versions; in III, IX, X, XVIII, XXI, XXII it stands quite alone. In V it is similar to four of the Occidental versions, but the resemblance must be regarded as purely fortuitous, since the change involved in disposing of the hero's property by gift rather than by the

¹P. 346.

act of Providence is slight and since at least three of the European tales form a group by themselves.

3. With *Shah Bakht*, the story of the *King who Lost Kingdom and Wife and Wealth*, we come to a story which represents the developed form of the motive and which is nearly related to the source of *Eustace*. Burton¹ draws attention to the fact that the names in the tale are Persian, which would place it in the number of the narratives in the *Arabian Nights* taken from Pahlavi. If the Indian origin of the general theme be admitted, such would naturally be the medium of transference, for the part that Middle Persian played as a go-between is well-known.² As a matter of fact, the stories in the collection *Shah Bakht* belong to the *Sindibad* or *Seven Wise Masters* cycle.³ It is thus difficult to date our tale with any security, but one can be reasonably sure that it was transferred from Pahlavi to Arabian not earlier than the ninth, and not later than the tenth century. It would not be possible, then, to regard it as an original of the *Eustace*, even if divergences of incident did not forbid the supposition.

In the case of *Eustace* the date and provenance are alike doubtful. The former question has already been discussed briefly.⁴ I regret that I can throw no further light upon it. The traditional date of the second century A. D. need not be seriously considered, since that would place the legend centuries before any of the allied versions of Europe and Asia. There is an account of Eustace written by John of Damascus⁵ in the eighth century, but this refers only to his

¹ *Supplemental Nights*, I, p. 191, note.

² See E. Kuhn, *Barlaam und Joasaph*, 1893, and the illuminating essay on the same subject by Gaston Paris, *Poèmes et légendes du moyen-âge*, pp. 181 ff.

³ Burton, as above, and Clouston, *Pop. Tales and Fictions*, II, p. 64.

⁴ See p. 354.

⁵ In *De Imaginibus*, Orat. III, ed. *Opera omnia*, 1712, I, p. 372.

conversion. Professor d'Ancona suggests¹ that the story of his wife and sons may be later, though it seems more likely that John had knowledge of a complete biography since he cites "*ἐκ τοῦ μάρτυριον*." This makes the eighth century the earliest probable date. Dr. Ogden assumes² "the end of the tenth" or "the first half of the eleventh century" as the time when the motive travelled westward into Europe. This estimate, however, places the migration much too late, since the version of *Eustace* in Old English, which was written by Ælfrie about 996,³ has all the characteristics of the typical Latin forms of the legend. The question as to whether the *Eustace* was first written in Latin or in Greek, though of much interest in itself, cannot affect the conclusions of the present study and may safely be neglected. It is sufficient to note that early forms of the legend appeared in both languages. The best evidence of its provenance is that which may be gained by comparison of its characteristics with those of similar stories.

The third member of this group is the Armenian folk-tale. Though it was not put into writing till the last century its ultimate date in unwritten literature cannot very well be determined. It may be very early. At all events, its geographical position makes it of peculiar interest, since it was found in a land which was partially Christianized as early as the second century A. D. and which was for several centuries under Persian rule. As will be seen, the form of the story is likewise divided in character between the Christian legend and the Arabian story of *Shah Bakht*.

The three versions under discussion are similar to the general Oriental type in II, VI, X, XXIII, XXIV, and XXVI. Most of these call for little comment. In VI it is seen that the two sons are born before the departure from

¹ *Poemeti popolari italiani*, 1889, p. 421.

² P. 26.

³ See p. 387, note.

home of the hero and heroine in all the Oriental versions save the *Sanskrit* and in all the Occidental save the group centering in *Guillaume*. The reason for the divergence in the case of the latter will be explained in the following chapter. In XXIII and XXIV, there is a general divergence between the Oriental and Occidental versions; but in both cases *Eustace*, together with one or two close derivatives, falls in with the group from Asia. The hero and heroine meet in the place where the hero is in authority and after the sons have been discovered by one or the other. The fact that the general European group differs here from *Eustace* can be explained¹ by the influence of the first and most powerful of the romances. It is a point gained to find that *Eustace* is in general accord with the similar Oriental tales.

In XXII, a matter of order, a curious state of affairs is revealed. The sons are sometimes discovered first by the wife, sometimes by the husband, nor is it at all clear which arrangement is the original. The three versions now under discussion all accept the former order, which furnishes important proof that they belong to the same branch of the general family.

Several traits are exhibited by *Shah Bakht* and the *Armenian* in distinction from *Eustace*. This is shown by I, III, XVIII, XIX, XX, and XXV. To I little importance need be attached except that it seems to point to a close relationship between the source of the Armenian story and *Shah Bakht*. The divergence in I leads to that in III, where the two agree in stating that the hero left home because he lost his kingdom.² In XVIII, where the versions are extraordinarily diversified, there is a similar

¹ See chap. VI.

² The addition in *Armenian* that a genius appeared to the hero is simply a commonplace of Oriental folk-lore.

agreement. It was naturally easy to change the account of the adventures which befell the hero and heroine in their separation. So in XIX, *Shah Bakht* and *Armenian* agree essentially, though not in detail, with most of the Oriental versions, while *Eustace* has invented the lowly occupation of seamstress for the heroine, a trait which is accepted by none of its derivatives. In XX it is seen that the heroine is shut up in a chest when her robber husband comes to the hero's court. In XXV the recognition of the hero and heroine is recounted as in the *Arabian* and in *Midrasch*, while *Eustace* has the less picturesque though more probable statement that they recognized one another as soon as they met. The romancers of Europe invented various incidents to color the tale at this point.

On the other hand, *Eustace* and the *Armenian* agree in at least three important ways. Both state that the hero had the choice of suffering in the present or the future, as in IV. This alternative, which appears also in some of the western derivatives, is not uncommon in folk literature,¹ but it must be regarded as unessential to the motive of the *Man Tried by Fate*. Whether it came into the story before the latter left Asia I am very doubtful. Indeed, in view of the unimportant part which it plays in *Eustace* itself I am inclined to believe that the resemblance between the *Armenian* and *Eustace* in this point is due to a retroactive influence of the Christian legend in Armenia. A similarity of a different sort is found in VIII, where the two agree with *Midrasch* in placing the loss of the heroine before the loss of the sons. The cumulative order would be the reverse, as in *Shah Bakht* and most of the Oriental tales; and the cumulative order is probably the earlier. That the trait was easily changed, however, is seen from the fact that European

¹ It seems better to delay the discussion of the theme to chap. VII.

romances so closely allied as *Guillaume* and *Wilhelm* differ with reference to this point. In the third place, the *Armenian* like *Eustace* has the children carried off by wild beasts. The trait is found in the *Sanskrit*, but it is generally absent from the Oriental versions.

Finally, in one case *Shah Bakht* and *Eustace* agree, where the *Armenian* is different. In IX they show that the heroine was carried away by the deceit of mariners, while the *Armenian*, like *Abu-Szaber*, is content with stating that she was stolen by a merchant.

Thus it is altogether probable that *Shah Bakht*, the *Armenian* tale, and the source of *Eustace* form the third branch of the Oriental family of the *Man Tried by Fate*. None of them derives from any other, but each comes directly from an Arabian precursor, which in turn must probably be regarded as taken from Pahlavi. To the possible influence of the *Eustace* upon the *Armenian* by a backward movement I have already referred.

One matter further must be discussed in this connection. Reference to III shows that *Eustace* is practically alone in describing the hero's meeting with a stag. That it is essential to the legend as we have it is shown by the account in John of Damascus, to which reference has already been made,¹ and further by the fact that though the European derivatives do not usually keep the matter of the episode they almost invariably offer some substitute for it. Of the Oriental versions, however, only the *Armenian* has anything which can be so regarded, and that seems to be an addition to the story.² The miracle at the hero's conversion, then, must be regarded as due to the saint's legend. Whence it came and how it was adopted is very obscure.³ It may, as d'Ancona suggests, have been the kernel of the legend of

¹ See p. 382.

² See p. 384, note.

³ See p. 351.

Placidus to which the theme of the *Man Tried by Fate* was added later.

4. The tales which I include in the fourth group represent a complicated filiation, but all of them probably belong to the same branch of the family. They have no direct influence on the introduction of the theme into Europe; but they are of importance to our study for the sake of comparison, and they are of interest for their own sake.

The relation between *Midrasch* and the Arabian story of the *Pious Israelite* may with propriety be first considered. The former is the oldest of the versions of western Asia. Its date, as has already been stated¹ in another connection, is the tenth century. This is important, since it gives us approximately the latest possible date for the transference of the motive from Pahlavi into Arabic and makes certain the rise of the *Eustace* legend in a complete form at least as early as the beginning of that century.² Perles regarded³ the Arabian tale as of Hebrew origin because of the fact that the hero is an Israelite. Lévi, more wisely, suggests⁴ that neither one came from the other and that the romantic character of the story is foreign to Jewish literature. Such a conclusion is the only possible one that we can draw from the characteristics of the tales. According to VIII, *Midrasch* falls with the *Armenian* and *Eustace* against most of the Oriental versions in placing the loss of the heroine before that of the sons. The *Arabian* in the same case disposes of both at the same time by shipwreck, an obvious

¹ See p. 351.

² In connection with *Eustace*, it must be remembered that Ælfric's translation of the Latin version, which ten Brink (*Gesch. der engl. Litt.*, I, 127) dates "um das Jahr 996," follows the version of the *Acta Sanctorum* with accuracy and fullness. See p. 383, above.

³ *Zur rabbinischen Sprach- und Sagenkunde*, p. 64.

⁴ *Revue des études juives*, XI, 232. He also remarks that *Eustace* is at least an analogue of the tales.

weakening. According to XXII, the *Arabian* resembles group 3 in stating that the sons were discovered first to the heroine, while *Midrasch* makes them known first to the hero. At the same time, the two stories are in agreement on four points against all other versions. In V the hero's property is lost by robbery; in XII the finding of treasure brings the hero back the fortune again;¹ in XVIII the hero becomes successively a laborer and a king; and in XIX the heroine is represented as married to her captor, the merchant, but without stain. The importance of the fact last stated is minimized because it is substantially shared by *Armenian*, but the evidence is sufficient without it. Thus the stories derive from a common original but are mutually independent.

To another group belong *Abu-Szaber*, *Abu-Saber*, with the Turki and Malay versions of the same tale. That no one of them is taken from any other needs no proof, I think.² That they derive from a common source is proved by V, where the hero's property is lost by depredations of wild beasts and a greedy king; by IX, where the heroine is stolen;³ by XVIII, XIX, and XX, where the adventures of the couple are narrated with details peculiar to this group; by XXI, where it is stated that the sons are brought to the hero's court by the robbers; and by XXV, where the recognition takes place through the appearance of the heroine when she comes to her husband's court. The original of the group was derived from the ultimate original of the fifteenth century *Forty Viziers*,⁴ I believe, which accords with *Abu-Szaber* and

¹A similar trait is found in *Ysumbras* and *Gesta*, but with very different detail. No connection is possible. Indeed, it is probable that the incidents in the two European versions are independent of one another. See also chap. v.

²See pp. 348, 349.

³There is a similar weakening of statement in *Armenian*.

⁴The immediate source of the *Forty Viziers* is, of course, the *Forty Morns and Eves*.

its immediate relatives in stating that the sons were carried off by robbers (XI) and brought to the court by their captors (XXI). The Turkish story, however, represents a greatly altered form of the theme. Thus the hero is a prince (I), he leaves home with his sons, but without his wife, for the sake of travel (II and III), he has a variety of the most sensational adventures after the separation from his sons (XVIII), and he finds his sons when they are brought to his court as *slaves* (XXI).

A separate offshoot of the original of the group to which all the above stories belong is the *Jewel-Merchant*, found in the same collections as *Abu-Szaber*. So widely has it departed in details from the parallel tale that both versions could with propriety be incorporated in the same work, though the motive has remained without essential change. The variations that place it in a separate class are as follows. The hero leaves home on business and later sends for his wife (II and III) to come to him ; the sons are thrown into the sea by the hero himself when he chances to meet them, a curious but not inexplicable change (X) ; the hero, while separated from his family, follows his vocation of merchant, but the separation naturally precedes the loss of the sons (XVIII) ; one son is adopted by a king, the other sold to the father by the robbers who rescue him (XXI) ; the sons are discovered by the father and mother simultaneously (XXII) ; the family reunion occurs at the place where one son is ruler (XXIV) ; and (XXVI) this reunion results from the parents telling their story to the son. There are also several romantic additions which cannot well be adapted to the scheme. Thus the *Jewel-Merchant* is a debased form that must have passed through several redactions of popular rather than literary nature before it reached its present state.

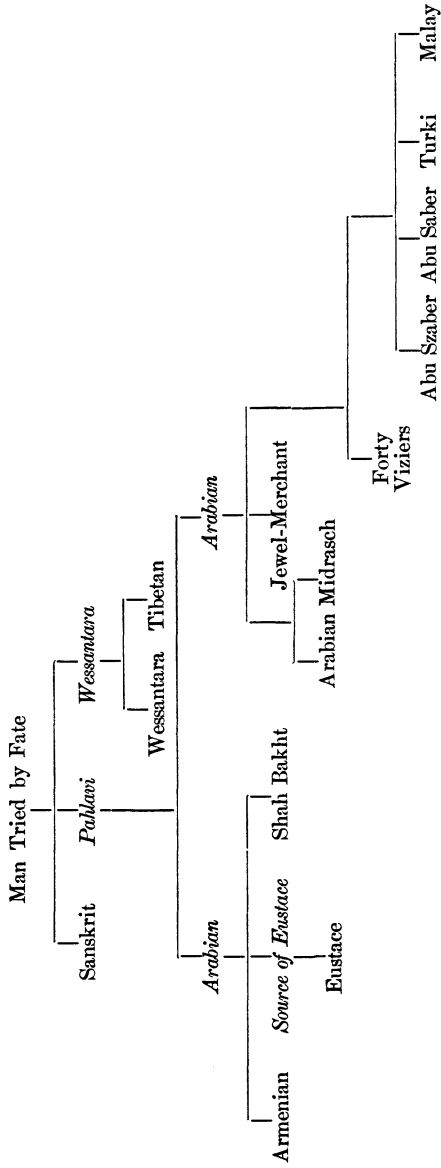
That all the versions mentioned in the present section really belong to one branch of the family of stories treating

the common theme is shown by several characteristics which they have in common, as opposed to the branch headed by *Shah Bakht*. By I it is seen that in all of them save *Forty Viziers* the hero is of low birth; by III that they keep¹ the motive of poverty suggested by *Wessantara* and followed by *Eustace*, which has been weakened in *Shah Bakht* and *Armenian*; by XVIII that the adventures of the hero follow the same general outline in all of them save *Jewel-Merchant*, where earlier changes necessitated this; and by XXII that in all save *Jewel-Merchant*² the sons are discovered first by the hero instead of the heroine as in *Shah Bakht*, *Eustace*, and the *Armenian*. Thus their common original must have differed somewhat from that of the latter branch, though it is probable that both originals derived from the same source, whether in Arabian or, a step further back, in Pahlavi.

From the foregoing study of the relationship which subsists between the various Oriental versions, it seems probable that they may be arranged in four groups, two of which come directly from Sanskrit sources and two from Arabian. It may be conjectured further that the latter two, since they have much in common, go back to a common source in Arabian or Pahlavi. In Pahlavi there was probably a version taken from some Indian original. *Eustace*, then, derives through Arabian and Pahlavi from Sanskrit. I do not pretend that this arrangement is perfect, but I am convinced of its substantial accuracy, since it violates neither chronology, geography, nor the distribution of narrative traits. The following diagram gives a graphic representation of the grouping. It should be observed that I have not attempted to show degrees of kinship or stages of redaction in the diagram. The names of conjectural versions are italicized.

¹ *Forty Viziers* and *Jewel-Merchant* have independent changes at this point.

² The *Arabian* follows *Shah Bakht* here, perhaps a case of "contamination."



V.

THE TREASURE THEME.

It will be noted from tables XII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, and XVII in chapter III that a treasure theme, forming a well-defined episode, is present in several of the European versions of the *Man Tried by Fate*, namely *Guillaume*, *Gute Frau*, *Ysumbras*, *Graf von Savoien* and *Gesta*. *Eustace* has no trace of it; and none of the Oriental tales of the cycle contains the essential point of the episode, though *Arabian* and *Midrasch* have one point similar to one in *Ysumbras* and *Gesta*, as I have already shown.¹

The story, as it is found in the versions mentioned above, may be reconstructed as follows. The hero has in his possession some treasure, either brought from home or obtained in exchange for his wife. This treasure, which is enclosed by some kind of gaudy cover, whether purse, box, or mantle, is carried off by a bird of prey. Subsequently it is recovered by the hero, and sometimes it brings him back to fortune.

The episode thus has a well-marked individuality. It plays, moreover, an important part in the western versions of the *Man Tried by Fate* with which we are chiefly concerned. Before we can decide upon the mutual relations of these romances with reference to *Eustace*, we must trace the origin and course of the subsidiary motive. There are, to my knowledge, nine tales from the Orient and Europe that give the theme in all its essential points, a number that is insufficient for a complete study of the group but quite adequate for such treatment as is necessary in the present paper, since we have chiefly to prove the existence of the

¹ See p. 388, note.

motive as independent and to show how it could be combined with the *Man Tried by Fate*.

The earliest version that I know is the story of *Kamaralzaman and Boudour* from the *Arabian Nights*.¹

King Schahramân had a son called Kamaralzaman, who was of marvellous beauty. The youth refused to marry and was shut up in a tower. There he was seen by a fairy, who fell into a dispute about him with an evil genius because the latter maintained that the princess Boudour of China was more beautiful than he. So the genius brought the princess to the tower. The young couple, by the art of the fairy, were permitted to see one another in turn and at once fell in love. Boudour was then carried back to China while the prince lay entranced. When the two awoke, they found themselves in their respective homes and were considered insane. By the aid of the princess' foster-brother, however, Kamaralzaman was brought to China and there married his love. He soon learned in a dream that his father was ill and set off with his bride for Khaledân. On the way thither, while he was examining a jewel that belonged to Boudour, a bird swooped down and carried it off. He chased the bird till the eleventh day, when he entered a city where he was protected by a gardener while waiting for a ship. Meanwhile, Boudour put on her husband's garments and passed for him with her retinue. She went to the Island of Ebony, where she was offered the daughter of the king in marriage and with her the throne. So wedded, the two women awaited Kamaralzaman. One day the latter discovered the lost jewel in the body of a bird that had been

¹ I summarize from the French translation of J. C. Mardrus, vol. v, pp. 1-149. The tale is found in Habicht's translation, vol. v, pp. 3 ff. It has been mentioned in a similar connection as the present by the German translator; by d'Ancona in *Scelta*, p. xi, and *Poemetti*, p. 393 (for full titles see below); by Tettau, *Über einige bis jetzt unbekannte Erfurter Drucke*, 1870, pp. 309, 310; and by Köhler, *Zts. f. rom. Phil.*, III, p. 277.

killed by its fellows, and also a cave full of treasure. The same day he loaded a ship with vases filled with treasure and into one of them put the talisman. He was himself left behind, however, when the ship sailed. The vessel went to the Island of Ebony, where the treasure came into the possession of Boudour, who recognized the jewel and sent the captain back for Kamaralzaman. When he came, he was recognized by Boudour and reigned as king, marrying the princess of the island as second wife.¹

A similar Oriental version is the story of *Bharam and Zohera* from the Persian.² I am unable to say with assurance whether or not it is older than the account in the *Arabian Nights*, but it seems improbable.

Bharam, prince of Bogellana, falls in love with Zohera, the daughter of his father's vizier. The latter complains to the Sultan, and Bharam is banished. He persuades Zohera to elope with him. When they are pursued, he leaves her in the forest while he fights with the Sultan's soldiers. After a successful combat he returns, but fails to find Zohera, who has put on a suit of his clothes and gone away to look for him. So they miss each other. After travelling all night, Zohera reaches a city, where the Sultan's daughter falls in love with her and makes an offer of marriage. Zohera accedes, with the stipulation of continence, and on the Sultan's death she ascends the throne. Finally Bharam arrives at the court, Zohera discovers herself to him, the princess agrees to share him as husband, and he rules as Sultan.³

¹ I shall cite this tale as *Kamaralzaman*.

² Summary given by Jonathan Scott, *Bahar-Danush or Garden of Knowledge*, 1799, vol. III, p. 277. I cite the tale as *Bharam*.

³ As noted by d'Ancona, *Scelta*, p. xix, a similar story is found in the *Bibliothèque des romans*, adut, 1777, pp. 51 ff. in *Les aventures du prince Abduselam et de la princesse Chelnissa*. It purports to be of Turkish origin and differs considerably from the other versions, though perhaps nearer *Kamaralzaman* than any other.

A folk-tale from Kashmir, *How the Princess Found her Husband*,¹ has much the same outline.

A prince, who was betrothed to a certain princess, lost his father. The match was then broken off and a day set for the princess to wed another suitor. On the wedding-day, however, she eloped with the prince. When they had gone some distance, she remembered that she had left her jewels behind. The prince went back for them and on his return could not find his bride, who had been carried off by a robber. By a ruse she escaped from her captor, robbed a goldsmith by means of a promise to marry him, and was helped by a poor couple to the disguise of a man. She then rode to a city, where she was chosen king by an elephant.² The prince, his servant, the robber, and the goldsmith all became *jogis* and came to her court, where she had her picture displayed in the guise of a murdered woman. All the characters of the tale passed before the picture and were variously rewarded. At last came the prince, who fainted when he saw it. The lady made him her chief vizier and later revealed all.³

Another variant of the same theme in folk literature is the Tartar tale that follows.⁴

A youth who had lost his wealth by folly bought a maiden and found in her hair eight gems enclosed in a purse. He threw it joyously into the air, when it was seized by a raven

¹ *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, J. H. Knowles, 1888, pp. 306 ff.

² This trait recalls *Shah Bakht* and the *Armenian*, where the hero is chosen king by an elephant and a white eagle respectively. It seems to be something of a commonplace of Oriental story and cannot be regarded as furnishing evidence of any schematic connection between the two motives. The influence of *Shah Bakht* in some form or other may, however, account for the appearance of the trait here.

³ I cite this tale as *Kashmir*.

⁴ From W. Radloff, *Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme Süd-Sibiriens*, 1872, IV, p. 482. It is mentioned by R. Köhler, *Zts. f. rom. Phil.*, III, 277. I cite the tale as *Tartar*.

which he pursued in vain. He then became a servant. Since he did not return, the girl put on men's clothing and journeyed to a city where she opened a caravansary. Thither came the hero, who had found a treasure, and was recognized by the heroine. They lived together in the city till a son had been born to them and they had become rich, when they set out for their old home. On the way their son cried out for a raven. When the man killed it he found the purse containing the gems.

The motive is likewise found in several European versions, the earliest of them being the Old French romance, *L'Escoufle*,¹ a work of much interest, though never popular, according to the belief of its editor.² It was written by an anonymous poet at some time previous to 1204.³

Richard, the great Count of Montvilliers, lord of Rouen, after notable deeds in the service of the King of Jerusalem and the Emperor of Rome, was married to the Countess of Genoa. On the same day that their son Guillaume was born, the Empress brought forth a daughter, who was called Aelis. The children were reared together and, at the wish of the Emperor, were betrothed. After the death of Count Richard, however, the Emperor withdrew his promise and forbade further intercourse between the lovers. They were in despair but at the suggestion of Aelis decided to elope and take the rule of Normandy. Aelis collected a large quantity of gold and jewels, including the most beautiful of the Empress's rings. They approached Toul in Lorraine,

¹ Ed. by Michelant and Meyer, Soc. des anciens textes, 1894. Analyzed by Köhler, *Germania*, xvii, 63, and by Littré, *Hist. litt. de la France*, xxii, 807. The former compares it with *Der Busant*, as does Meyer in his *Introduction*. For textual comment see Mussafia, *Zur Kritik und Interpretation romanischer Texte*, Wiener Sitzungsberichte, Phil.-hist. Classe, 135, xiv, 1-72; 136, vii, 35-48.

² "Il ne faut pas se le dissimuler, le poème fut peu répandu." Meyer, *Introd.*, p. xl.

³ Meyer, p. xxxv.

when one evening the lady gave the ring to her lover as a token. Guillaume put it back in the red purse with the other treasure, and both lay down to sleep. A kite saw the bag and carried it off, pursued by Guillaume whom it had awakened. While he was gone, Aelis woke and was plunged into despair by the thought that she had been abandoned. At length she reached the town and found lodging with an old woman. Guillaume finally succeeded in recovering the treasure and returned to the spot where he had left Aelis, only to find that she had gone. In the company of the daughter of the old woman, Aelis wandered about for two years, finally settling at Montpellier, where she supported herself by making embroidery. Her work was so beautiful that she was later taken into the household of the Count of Saint-Gilles. Thither, after many adventures, came Guillaume and took service with the falconers of the count. His falcon brought down a kite, which he tore with rage and cursed, eating its heart withal. His conduct was related to the count, who had him brought before him to explain. As Guillaume told his story, Aelis, who was present, gradually recognized that this was her lover and threw herself in his arms. Though he had suffered poverty, he had never parted with the ring, and now he produced it. Guillaume and Aelis then went to Rouen, where they were married and ruled for three years. At the end of that time, they were summoned to Rome to rule in the place of the old Emperor and Empress, who had died. There they lived in prosperity all their lives.¹

More or less similar is the German romance *Der Busant* or *Magelona*,² which was written in the second half of the fifteenth century.³

¹ I cite the romance as *Escoufle*.

² Ed. von der Hagen, *Gesammtabenteuer*, 1850, Pt. I, pp. 331-366. Summary given by Tettau, p. 301. Compared with *Escoufle* by Köhler, *Germania*, xvii, 62; with *Kamaralzaman* and *Pierre* by Tettau, p. 310.

³ Tettau, p. 303.

The son of the king of England, who was at school in Paris, eloped with the daughter of the French king, who had been promised to the king of Morocco. In the forest, while the princess slept, her lover took two rings from her hand to look at them. A buzzard carried off one of them, and in pursuing the bird the prince lost his way. The princess, thus deprived of a husband, made her way to a mill where she supported herself as seamstress. Thence she was taken by a duke, brother of the English king, who carried her to his castle. Thither, after a considerable time had passed, was brought the prince, who had been found living in the forest like a wild beast. He was restored to reason and entered the duke's service. One day while hunting he killed a buzzard with rage, and when examined by the duke he told his story. Thus the meeting and marriage of the lovers came about.¹

Of about the same date as the preceding is the Italian prose romance, *La storia di Ottinello e Giulia*.² It was very popular and exists in many editions, though it is not older than the end of the fifteenth century.³

Ottaviano, the pagan prince of Salerno, had a son named Ottinello; and his enemy, the prince of Capua, had a daughter Giulia. By means of a servant's report Ottinello fell in love with her and took service incognito at the Capuan court. There he made love to Giulia, discovered himself to her, and persuaded her to elope. They carried with them forty thousand talents of gold, and when they became weary fell asleep in the forest. A falcon, flying near, seized a veil that covered Ottinello's face and awoke

¹ I cite the tale as *Busant*.

² Ed. A. d'Ancona, (a) in the series *Scelta di curiosità letterarie inedite o rare*, no. LXXXIII, 1867, (b) in *Poemeti popolari italiani*, 1889, pp. 393 ff.

³ D'Ancona, *Poemeti*, p. 406. D'Ancona compares it with *Kamaralzaman* and *Pierre*.

him by its scratching. Without waiting to dress, he went in pursuit only to fall in with some brigands, who carried him off to Cipro and sold him to a gardener. Meanwhile, Giulia believed herself deserted and, after putting on her lover's clothes, went to Puglia, where she bought an inn and posed as Giulio. After a time Ottinello discovered a treasure and became a merchant. He was shipwrecked and driven to Puglia, where, in accordance with her custom, Giulia inquired about his history and learned his identity. She then put on woman's garb and discovered herself. The lovers were finally married with their parents' consent and ruled at Taranto.¹

The French prose romance, *Histoire de Pierre de Provence et de la belle Maguelone, fille du roi de Naples*,² also runs parallel with the theme for part of its course. This work has been attributed by tradition to the twelfth century and ascribed to Bernard de Trévières. It was long supposed to have been written originally in Provençal, but the probability is that it was composed in French though in the South.³ Its origin is, indeed, somewhat obscure, a fact that is due to its long-continued popularity. It does not seem to be older, however, than the middle of the fifteenth century, at least in its present form.⁴ The part of the story that concerns us is as follows.

After Pierre has eloped with Maguelone, she falls asleep in a wood. As she lies sleeping, he takes from her bosom a sandal-wood case that contains three rings which he has previously given her. A sparrow-hawk seizes this and when pursued by the hero drops it on a rock off the coast. In attempting to recover it Pierre is blown out to sea and

¹ I cite the romance as *Ottinello*.

² I have used the edition published by Garnier.

³ G. Paris, *Rom.*, xviii, 511.

⁴ See d'Ancona, *Scelta*, p. xxv; Meyer, *L'Escoufle*, p. xxx.

captured by pirates. Maguelone wanders to Aigues-mortes where she establishes the hospital of St. Pierre de Magelone. Thither Pierre finally comes for healing and so meets his lady-love. They are then married with the consent of their parents.¹

Finally, there must be mentioned the Sicilian folk-tale *Mandruni e Mandruna*,² which was printed for the first time in our own day.

Mandruni, the son of the king of Sicily, is told that he cannot marry till he finds a maiden named Mandruna. At sixteen he sets out in search of her and comes to the court of the king of France. There he woos the king's daughter, who bears the fated name, and elopes with her. On their way to Sicily they fall asleep under a tree. Then comes a raven and steals a ring from the lady's hand. Her lover is awakened and pursues the bird, though unsuccessfully. When Mandruna wakes she thinks herself betrayed and by the aid of a countryman reaches the city where the king of Sicily rules. There she lives as a sister of charity in a hospice that she founds. After seven years Mandruni comes thither as a sick mendicant, is recognized by his lady-love and restored to wife and fortune.³

¹ I cite the tale as *Pierre*. Paris, *Rom.*, xviii, 511, refers to the romance *Paris et Vienne*, written by Pierre de la Sippade in 1432, "qui offre plus d'un rapport avec *Pierre de Provence*." I have not been able to use this work. In the 1903 reissue of *Political, Religious, and Love Poems*, E.E.T.S., orig. ser. 15, Dr. F. J. Furnivall prints (pp. 293-300) a few fragments of a *Peare of Provence and the fair Maguelone* from a fifteenth century ms. belonging to Lord Clifden of Lanhydrock. We thus have bits of an English translation made in the same century as the original. A complete copy would be of greatest value, accordingly.

² Published by G. Pitrè in his *Fiabe novelle e racconti popolari siciliani*, 1875, I, pp. 123-132. I owe the reference to Köhler, *Zts. f. rom. Phil.*, iii, 277.

³ I cite the story as *Mandruni*. V. Imbriani in his notes in Pitrè, iv, pp. 374, 5, gives as variants of the Sicilian tale: (A) A story (no. xxxii) in *Porretane* of M. Sabadino Degli Arienti Bolognese, concerning the adventures of the son of a king of Portugal with the daughter of a king

It is obvious that all these tales are variants of a single motive. It is equally evident that the versions show an extraordinary diversity in detail. These facts necessitate a tabulation of the characteristics of the narratives before even a rough classification can be made.

- | | | |
|------------------------|---|---|
| a. Hero and heroine | { | 1. Are married and start homewards : Kamaralzaman.
2. Elope : Bharam, Kashmir, Escoufle, Busant, Ottinello, Pierre, Mandruni.
3. Go on journey : Tartar. |
| β. Treasure is | { | 1. Brought along by heroine : Kamaralzaman, Escoufle, Busant, Ottinello, Pierre, Mandruni.
2. Left at home : Kashmir.
3. Found with heroine : Tartar. |
| γ. Form of treasure. | { | 1. Jewels or rings : Kamaralzaman, Kashmir, Tartar, Escoufle, Busant, Pierre, Mandruni.
2. Gold : Escoufle, Ottinello.
3. Enclosed in purse or case : Tartar, Escoufle, Pierre. |
| δ. Carried off by bird | { | Kamaralzaman, Tartar, Escoufle, Busant, Ottinello, Pierre, Mandruni. |

In the case of *Ottinello* the incident shows weakening, as the bird simply carries off the veil that covers the hero's face and wakes him by its scratching. This does not explain adequately the long pursuit and consequent separation.

- | | | |
|------------------------|---|---|
| ε. Adventures of hero. | { | 1. Lost in pursuing bird : Kamaralzaman, Tartar, Escoufle, Busant, Ottinello, Pierre, Mandruni.
2. Goes back to fight pursuers : Bharam.
3. Goes back for jewels : Kashmir.
4. Taken captive : Ottinello, Pierre.
5. Becomes a gardener : Kamaralzaman, Ottinello.
6. Becomes a servant : Tartar.
7. Becomes a beggar : Mandruni.
8. Discovers lost treasure : Kamaralzaman, Escoufle.
9. Discovers another treasure : Kamaralzaman, Tartar, Ottinello.
10. Mangles a bird : Escoufle, Busant. |
|------------------------|---|---|

of England, ed. 1531. (B) Adventure of Sifanto in the seventeenth canto of *Mondo Nuovo* by Tomaso Stigliani da Matera, 1628. (C) Novella 56 in *Ducento Novelle* of Celio Malespini, 1609, concerning adventures of Orio and Pulicastra. As being late and literary these versions can safely be neglected. I have simply verified and adapted the references.

It should be noted that only in *Escoufle* is the hero at once successful in recovering the lost treasure.

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 5. Adventures
of her-
oine. | { | 1. Dresses like a man : Kamaralzaman, Kashmir, Tartar.
2. Dresses in hero's clothes : Bharam, Ottinello.
3. Captured : Kashmir.
4. Becomes king : Kamaralzaman, Bharam, Kashmir.
5. Keeps hostelry : Tartar, Ottinello, Pierre, Mandruni.
6. Becomes seamstress : Escoufle, Busant.
7. Reveals herself to hero : Kamaralzaman, Bharam,
Kashmir, Tartar, Escoufle, Ottinello, Man-
druni. |
| 7. Means of
meeting. | { | 1. Hero sent for by heroine : Kamaralzaman.
2. Hero comes to heroine's court : Bharam, Kashmir.
3. Hero comes to place where heroine lives : Tartar,
Escoufle, Busant, Ottinello, Pierre, Mandruni.
4. Hero recognized by jewel : Kamaralzaman, Escoufle. |
| 8. Treasure found after reunion : Tartar. | | |

The earlier discussions of this material have been inadequate and sometimes misleading chiefly because the scholars who have dealt with it took into account only a few versions of the motive. Thus Tettau, in his clear-sighted comparison of the theme¹ with that of the *Man Tried by Fate*, used only *Kamaralzaman*, *Busant*, and *Pierre*, deriving the second from *Pierre*² and *Pierre* from *Kamaralzaman*. Professor d'Ancona,³ who likewise recognized the essential difference between the theme of *Eustace* and that of *Ottinello* and *Pierre*, had not at hand sufficient data to place the Italian and French romances in their proper relation with reference to the story from the *Arabian Nights*. He says,⁴ quite justly, that *Ottinello* and *Pierre* "sieno due diverse versioni dello stesso racconto orientale; di cui l'italiana rappresenta una forma anteriore, e, ad ogni modo, indipendente dalla versione francese." But his later conclusion,⁵ that *Ottinello* stands nearer *Kamaralza-*

¹ *Work cited*, pp. 309, 310.

² He believed, of course, that *Pierre* was a work of the twelfth century.

³ *Poemeti*, pp. 410 ff.

⁴ *Scelta*, p. xlvii.

⁵ *Poemeti*, p. 410.

man than does *Pierre*, is scarcely justified by the comparison of the two with other versions. At least, it is an inadequate statement. M. Meyer¹ recognized the close relationship between *Escoufle* and *Busant*, saw that the latter could not derive from the former,² but did not attempt to treat *Ottinello* and *Pierre* in connection with them further than to suggest their analogous character.³ A closer comparison of all the tales in connection with the tables above is thus very desirable, though the materials at my command are still too meagre for exact classification.

Of the several versions of the *Story of Lost Treasure*, as we may call the original, *Bharam* and *Kashmir* seem to belong to a group by themselves, though it is evident from individual changes like those in β 2, ϵ 2 and 3, and ζ 3 that neither one could have derived from the other. At the same time, they display certain traits in common. In both, the matter of the treasure is oddly handled. It is left at home in *Kashmir* (β 2) and not mentioned in *Bharam*.⁴ So both change what is made the central episode in the other versions, though they keep the main outline. In both, the hero is lost by going back for some reason, rather than by pursuing a bird (ϵ). Finally, the two are in accord with reference to the meeting of the lovers (η). Whether the *Kashmir* or *Bharam* stands nearer geographically to the original home of the story is doubtful, to say the least.

If *Bharam* and *Kashmir* are thus set aside, the other versions may be regarded as deriving from a common though remote original. *Escoufle* and *Busant* show evidence of being

¹ *Introduction to L'Escoufle*, pp. xxviii-xxx.

² The view held by D'Ancona, *Poemeti*, p. 421.

³ M. Meyer notes, p. xxxii, that in the *Roman de la Violette* the ring of Euriant is carried off by a tame swallow and is recovered by her lover. See ed. of F. Michel, 1834, p. 187.

⁴ Unfortunately I cannot vouch for the accuracy of the summary which I have used of this version.

nearly allied though mutually independent. The form of the treasure and the adventures of the hero are sufficiently dissimilar in the two to make it improbable that the author of *Busant* knew the Old French romance, especially in view of the fact that the latter was little read in its own day and well-nigh forgotten by the fifteenth century. That their ultimate source must be the same is, however, shown by the manner in which the hero treats a captured bird (ε 10) and by the occupation of the heroine as seamstress (§ 6).

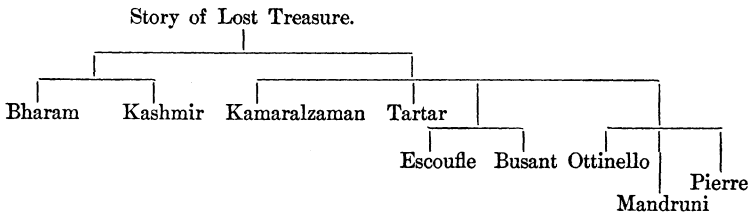
Similarly, *Ottinello*, *Pierre*,¹ and *Mandruni* agree and disagree in their changes in such a fashion that they may be regarded as having a common source but being independent of one another. Thus the treasure in *Ottinello* is brought from home in the form of gold but is not stolen, while in *Pierre* and *Mandruni* the incident is recounted in the more customary manner. In *Ottinello*, however, the hero (ε) becomes a gardener and discovers a second treasure as in *Kamaralzaman*, while in *Pierre* and *Mandruni* his adventures are slurred over. *Pierre* stands alone in picturing the hero's madness, and it states the fact, lost in *Ottinello* and *Mandruni*, that the treasure was enclosed in a case (γ 3). *Ottinello* and *Pierre* agree in mentioning the captivity of the hero (ε 4). All three agree in making the heroine keep a hostelry (§ 5), though *Mandruni* changes the details somewhat. The captivity is mentioned in none of the other tales, and the heroine's charity or business only in *Tartar*.

That the sources of *Escoufle* and *Busant* on the one hand, of *Ottinello*, *Pierre*, and *Mandruni* on the other, were independent of *Kamaralzaman* and *Tartar* also seems clear. Indeed, I regard these four versions as separate offshoots of the story as it existed somewhere in western Asia. According to *a*, the hero and heroine of *Kamaralzaman* are married

¹It must be remembered that in *Pierre* the treasure motive is imbedded in a larger plot, though easily separable.

happily and start for the prince's home before their trials begin, and in the *Tartar* the hero buys the heroine outright and finds the treasure in her hair, while in the European versions the lovers elope as in *Bharam* and *Kashmir*. According to γ , the *Tartar* mentions the jewel-case, which is found in two of the Occidental versions, but not in *Kamaralzaman*. According to ϵ , the hero becomes a gardener in *Kamaralzaman* and in *Ottinello*, a servant in *Tartar*, and a beggar in *Mandrini*; discovers the lost treasure but with a difference in *Kamaralzaman* and *Escoufle*; and finds another treasure in *Kamaralzaman*, *Tartar*, and *Ottinello*. According to ζ , the heroine becomes a king in *Kamaralzaman* as in *Bharam* and *Kashmir*, while she takes a low station in the *Tartar* as in the European versions. According to η , the heroine sends for the hero in *Kamaralzaman*, while the *Tartar* agrees with the western versions in making him come to the place where she lives as a woman of low birth. Quite apart from any difficulties of geographical distribution, it would then be evident that the tales are of independent origin.

The foregoing comparison leads to an arrangement of the several versions of the treasure theme, which may be graphically expressed as follows.



Such is the motive that was grafted on the stock of the *Man Tried by Fate* in the group of romantic stories *Guillaume*, *Gute Frau*, *Ysumbras*, *Graf von Savoiën*, and *Gesta*. It must now be decided in what way and at what point the grafting

took place; but this can best be done in the discussion of the relations of the Occidental versions to *Eustace* and to one another which immediately follows.

VI.

OCCIDENTAL DERIVATIVES OF THE MOTIVE.

In considering the relation that *Eustace* bears to the several later European versions of the *Man Tried by Fate*, it must never be forgotten that the legend was known and well-known in every Catholic land during the Middle Ages. If it had been an ecclesiastical story of little popularity and if it had not been told and retold in many forms both in the learned tongue and the vernaculars, the mere fact that it was earlier than the other variants would be poor evidence that they derived from it. In view of its extraordinary popularity with all classes, however, this priority becomes a matter of much consequence and throws the burden of proof on those who argue that romantic stories like *Guillaume*, *Gute Frau* and *Ysumbras* have no direct connection with the legend. It also makes it probable that at more than one time and in more than one land derivatives of *Eustace* might appear.

As a matter of fact, we are not obliged to content ourselves with such *a priori* arguments, since an examination of the stories in question reveals the fact that together with *Eustace* they form a group distinct from the Oriental versions. In general outline, of course, there is agreement between both groups,¹ but there are differences of detail and arrangement characteristic of the European versions only. Save for *Guillaume*, *Wilhelm*, and *Breton*, they all follow *Eustace* in making the hero a nobleman as against the division on this point in the Asiatic group (I). An interview, usually miraculous,

¹As far as they go, some versions like *Hubert* being fragmentary.

opens the tale of misfortune in *Eustace* and most of the derivatives (III), while only one of the Oriental versions¹ has such a trait. Several of the stories have the choice of woe presented (IV). Five of the tales follow *Eustace* in stating that the sons were carried off by wild beasts (XI), and these five can be shown by other means to be more or less closely connected with one another, so that the trait may be regarded as peculiar to the group as a whole. The adventures of the hero, heroine, and sons (XVIII, XIX, XXI) are related so variously in all versions whatsoever that they furnish no evidence for or against the theory, but the fact that the heroine is said in *Eustace* and almost all the other European forms (XX) to have preserved her chastity while in the hands of her first captors rather than while in the continued power of a merchant or robber, as the Oriental versions have it, is a point in favor of the suggested derivation. The Occidental tales recount somewhat variously the reunion with the sons (XXII, XXIII), yet it is noticeable that none of the Asiatic versions states that it took place after the meeting of the parents as is common with the European forms. *Eustace* and *Gesta*, however, here fall with the Oriental stories, as is also the case in the division of statement with reference to the situation of the husband and wife at the time when they meet (XXIV). This is not a real difficulty, in spite of the seeming confusion, since the treasure theme has undoubtedly contaminated most of the European versions at this point.

Sufficient evidence has been adduced, I think, to show that the saint's legend is a more probable source for the other Occidental tales than any possible conjectural original allied at once to the *proto-Eustace* and to *Shah Bakht*. Since they agree with it in all the important characteristics that have not obviously been changed or weakened by the desire

¹*Armenian*, see p. 386.

for romantic coloring and since there is positive evidence that the legend was widely known at an early date, we may hold with security to the belief that the European versions form a group by themselves with *Eustace* at their head. If this be granted—and it is usually admitted in individual cases¹—the various members of the group may be examined with the view of discovering their mutual relationship. I shall assume from this point that *Eustace* is the ultimate source of them all and shall endeavor to show how they derive from their common ancestor.

In the first place, *Guillaume*, *Wilhelm*, *Gute Frau*, *Ysumbras*, *Graf von Savoiën*, *Gesta*, and the *Breton* folk-song belong to a single group. This is proved by the fact that all of them save the second and the last² have imbedded in the narrative of the *Man Tried by Fate* a treasure theme like that discussed in the last chapter. The question at once arises as to when and by what means the incident found its way into a group of tales so closely related to *Eustace* as those enumerated above. Furthermore, it must be decided whether or not the episode is essential to their common motive; whether it was borrowed by them from some narrative similar to *Kamaralzaman* and the sources of *Escoufle* and *Ottinello*, or whether the reverse is true. Upon the answers given these problems depends the whole question of the derivation of this particular group of stories and, in a broader sense, of the relation of the legend to the entire cycle.

¹ For example, by Gruntvig, Knust, Köhler, d'Ancona, Foerster, Sommer, and Tettau, as already cited, and by Steinbach, *Über den Einfluss des Crestien de Troies auf die altenglische Literatur*, 1885, pp. 41 ff. It is necessary to emphasize the fact, because no one save Ogden has hitherto made a comparative examination of the entire group and because he denies the influence of *Eustace* altogether. He does not treat *Sakarias*, *Breton*, and *Hubert*.

² *Wilhelm* is included in the group because of its close relationship to *Guillaume*, which is discussed below. The *Breton* is included because of its marked similarity to *Ysumbras*, as is shown further on.

The matter has been discussed and, I believe, correctly decided by both Tettau¹ and d'Ancona,² though neither had sufficient material at his command to treat the matter exhaustively. The former compares *Gute Frau*, *Ysumbras*, and *Graf* with *Kamaralzaman*, *Busant*, and *Pierre*. From an examination of their entire content he separates them into two groups and comes to the conclusion that they represent two different motives of separate origin. He believes further that *Graf* was the link between the two. It is hard to understand just what he meant by the latter statement, since *Graf* is later than *Gute Frau* and *Ysumbras* and therefore cannot be regarded as a source for those works in any sense whatsoever. If he merely wished to indicate, what is undoubtedly true, that it has the treasure theme of *Kamaralzaman* in a less mangled form than *Gute Frau* and *Ysumbras*, he did not go far enough, since it is possible to state the position of *Graf* with reference to them somewhat more explicitly. This will be discussed later on. D'Ancona, though considering only *Guillaume*, *Gute Frau*, *Ysumbras*, and *Graf* of the one group in their relation to *Kamaralzaman*, *Ottinello*, and *Pierre* of the other, carries the matter further. With admirable clearness of sight he argues³ that since the episode of the lost treasure, which is found in both cycles, is essential to the *Ottinello-Pierre* group, it probably originated there and was thence borrowed by the other cycle. He notes further that the cycle to which *Ysumbras* belongs has "un *esempio* morale; non un romanzo di stane avventure amorose, come nel nostro ciclo," thus recognizing the moral element that all the members of the group preserve from their source, the legend. As he says, "Ed è notevole che quest' episodio non si rinviene nella *Leggenda di S. Eustachio*." Though he did not follow these facts to the legitimate con-

¹ *Work cited*, pp. 309-318.

² *Poemetti*, pp. 413-417.

³ P. 417.

clusion that *Guillaume* and its analogues grafted the treasure theme on the stock of the *Man Tried by Fate* as represented in *Eustace*, he nevertheless pointed out the way by which alone it is possible to understand the interrelations of the stories in question.

It will be necessary to compare the treasure theme as it appears in the derivatives of *Eustace* with the motive treated in the last chapter, in order to ascertain the point at which the latter was incorporated in the longer and more complicated tale of the *Man Tried by Fate*. Such a comparison of individual traits will also reveal the relationship between the source of the inserted theme and the several members of the original treasure motive. To avoid the necessity of frequent and clumsy circumlocutions I shall for the present designate the theme as found in *Kamaralzaman* and its analogues by A, and as found in the derivatives of *Eustace* by B.

A and B are, of course, distinct up to a point just previous to the loss of the treasure. It is stated in the former that this has been brought from home by the wife, but in B *Graf* only has retained this essential characteristic. In *Guillaume*, *Gute Frau*, and *Ysumbras* (XII) it is received for the wife and in *Wilhelm*¹ for the sons. In *Graf* also payment for the heroine is made, but the treasure received does not figure further in the story. Thus *Graf* is the only one of the versions that introduce the treasure theme before the loss of the heroine. This shows clearly enough that the original of B was similar to *Kamaralzaman*, *Escoufle*, *Basant*, *Ottinello*, *Pierre*, and *Mandrini* in this particular, though all but *Graf* have the trait changed to suit the conditions of the

¹ *Wilhelm*, a close relative of *Guillaume*, does not carry the matter further than to state the fact of the payment made for the sons, which is proof that d'Ancona was right in regarding B as non-essential to the *Man Tried by Fate*.

general theme. *Graf* again stands alone (XIV) in making the treasure take the form of gems. In this it resembles *Kamaralzaman* and *Tartar*, while *Escoufle*, *Busant*, *Pierre*, and *Mandrini* have rings substituted (γ). *Escoufle* and *Ottinello* have a treasure of gold mentioned, in which they resemble all the versions of B save *Graf*. The substitution of gold for gems is consequent upon the general change of B¹ in the matter of the provenance of the treasure. *Tartar*, *Escoufle*, and *Pierre* mention the fact (γ 3) that the treasure was enclosed in a purse or case, a trait common to B (XV). As the very full account in *Kamaralzaman* fails to state this fact, the Arabian tale is effectively disposed of as a possible source for B. A and B agree in saying that the hero was robbed by a bird. The lost treasure is subsequently recovered according to two variants of A (*Kamaralzaman* and *Escoufle*) and three variants of B (*Guillaume*, *Gute Frau*, and *Ysumbras*). In all of the latter except *Gute Frau* it is found by the hero rather than by the heroine. This indicates that the characteristic belongs to A, whence it was adopted by B. The adventures of the hero are so variously described in both A (ϵ) and B (XVIII) that they furnish us little information as to relationship. *Kamaralzaman*, *Tartar*, and *Ottinello*, however, have an incident which is paralleled in *Ysumbras* and *Gesta*, namely, that the hero finds a treasure—not the lost one—by means of which he is restored to fortune. In *Gesta* this is the only treasure mentioned.² The adventures of the heroine are similarly diverse. It is noticeable, however, that in B, she is uniformly raised to a high position (XIX), as in the case in *Kamaralzaman* (§ 4), though not in *Eustace* and not in the European forms of A. The trait was borrowed, I think, by B from A. Since it has been

¹ See above.

² I believe that *Gesta* shows contamination from the *Placidus* of the Latin *Gesta Romanorum*, see below.

shown above that *Kamaralzaman* could not have been the source of B, we must conclude that this source was an analogue of both that tale and the originals of *Escoufle* and *Ottinello*. The same thing appears from the manner of the meeting between hero and heroine (XXIV and η). Finally, it must be observed that *Graf* has no mention of the children, which indicates how strongly it was impressed by A, though for very weighty reasons which will soon appear it cannot be regarded as a link between A and B,¹ on account of structural as well as chronological difficulties.

From the above survey of the treasure theme as it appears in the *Man Tried by Fate*, it has become evident that *Guillaume*, *Gute Frau*, *Ysumbras*, *Graf*, and probably *Gesta* took the episode from some source analogous to the sources of *Kamaralzaman*, *Tartar*, *Escoufle*, *Busant*, *Ottinello*, and *Pierre*. This original must, I believe, have come from Asia into Europe quite independently. It must have been grafted on the *Eustace* at least as early as the middle of the twelfth century, since *Guillaume* was composed in the second half of that century. Most probably it was never written down, so that Foerster is quite justified in saying of the source of *Guillaume*:² "Ferner glaube ich nach der Kenntniss, wie Kristian seine Stoffe behandelt, hier gleich bemerken zu müssen, dass das Suchen nach einem Original, das unsre Geschichte mit den bestimmten Namen und all den Einzelheiten enthält, meiner Ansicht nach völlig aussichtslos ist."

Owing to the variations that have been made in the motive by the individual authors in their attempt to tell the story in romantic fashion and owing perhaps also to contamination from the parent legend, the introduction of the treasure theme is the only point that establishes clearly the existence of the group just considered. A comparison of the variations found in the several tales, however, strengthens

¹ Tettau's opinion, see p. 409, above.

² IV, p. clxx.

the probability that all of them derive from a single source by revealing the fact that they can be arranged in minor groups which have certain well-defined characteristics. Moreover, sometimes one and sometimes another of the versions has retained a trait from the conjectural source or *Eustace* itself, so that their filiation is at the same time intricate and fascinating.

Thus *Guillaume*, *Wilhelm*, *Gute Frau*, and *Graf* form a single group distinct from *Ysumbras*, *Gesta*, and *Breton*, while *Guillaume* and *Wilhelm* are further seen to have a common source analogous to *Gute Frau* and *Graf*. *Guillaume* and *Wilhelm* are alike in making the hero a king (I) while the others follow *Eustace* in calling him a nobleman.¹ The reason for leaving home (III) is variously stated, but since *Guillaume* and *Graf* unite in saying that a voice was heard by the hero in the night, while *Gute Frau* and *Wilhelm* have individually rationalized the episode, the former by making him meet a benevolent miller, the latter by introducing some pilgrims as missionaries, it must be concluded that the source of all four was the same at this point. *Graf* preserves the choice of woe (IV), while all the other members of this minor group have lost the incident. *Guillaume*, *Wilhelm*, and *Gute Frau*, as well as *Breton*, state that the hero gave away his property (V), while *Graf* has the more customary expedient of destruction by act of providence. Why *Breton* should have the trait, as it does, is difficult to explain, since in general it resembles *Ysumbras* and *Gesta*. Contamination from some form of *Guillaume* is, of course, possible, though much latitude of change must be allowed a folk-song that was not written down till the nineteenth century. Sons are born to the heroine after departure from home rather than before in *Guillaume*, *Wilhelm*, and *Gute Frau* (VI), while

¹ *Breton* also makes him a king, but the change is not unnatural in a folk-song and seems to have been made independently.

Graf suppresses the sons altogether, as we have already seen.¹ *Guillaume* and *Wilhelm* agree in mentioning the fact that the hero wraps the sons in his mantle (VII). *Ysumbras* has a similar trait but with this difference, that the children are not new-born babes. There is a curious disagreement as to the time when the heroine was lost (VIII). *Wilhelm*, like *Cifar* and *Ysumbras*,² place it after the loss of the children, while the others follow *Eustace*. There can be no doubt that the three made the change independently, because the close relation of *Wilhelm* to *Guillaume* is perfectly apparent from a variety of evidence. The manner of the heroine's loss is also given with some confusion (IX). Thus *Guillaume*, *Ysumbras*, and *Graf* speak of a forced sale, while in *Gute Frau* she is sold voluntarily and in *Wilhelm* is simply left behind by her husband. The change in the first three is not considerable, however, so that we cannot greatly wonder that *Ysumbras* falls with *Guillaume* and *Graf* rather than with *Gesta* and *Breton*, which follow *Eustace* most exactly.

In all that relates to the sons, *Graf* cannot be used, since it does not mention them. *Wilhelm* again shows that it could not be a derivative of *Guillaume* by stating (X) that the sons were sold, while *Guillaume* follows *Eustace* and most of the derivatives. *Guillaume* and *Gute Frau* say (XV) that the treasure was enclosed in a red purse, which seems to be the original form of the episode, while the covering is changed by *Graf* to a rude casket and by *Ysumbras* to a red mantle³ that was mistaken by the bird

¹ This change may be due to the influence of the treasure story, where the hero and heroine elope, or possibly to some obscure connection with the motive of *The Calumniated Wife*. For the analogous relations of the latter see the next chapter.

² In *Ysumbras* there are three sons, and the order of loss is two sons, wife, last son.

³ Tettan, pp. 316, 317, traces this episode to the *Arabian Nights* and a Sanskrit tale.

for a piece of flesh. *Gute Frau*, however, changes the end of the incident somewhat by making the heroine recover the treasure; and *Graf* omits the recovery altogether. The adventures of the hero and heroine (XVIII, XIX) are so variously related that they throw little light on the relations of the group under immediate consideration, except that they show the independence of *Guillaume* and *Wilhelm*. The adventures of the sons (XXI) are given similarly in *Guillaume*¹ and *Wilhelm*, though the latter adds the fact that they became robbers. *Gute Frau* gives an account which is all its own. *Guillaume* and *Wilhelm* again agree in stating that the sons are discovered first by the hero (XXII), while *Gute Frau* makes the recognition by the parents simultaneous, as do *Ysumbras* and *Breton*. This was probably the earlier form of the episode. In stating that the hero and heroine meet before they find their children, in the place where the heroine rules (XXIII, XXIV), *Guillaume*, *Wilhelm*, and *Gute Frau* simply follow changes made by the original which they had in common with *Ysumbras*, *Gesta*, and *Breton*. The same is true in general outline of the means by which the hero is recognized (XXV). It should finally be said that *Guillaume* and *Wilhelm* agree in making the time of separation twenty-four years.

Though some curious discrepancies have been noted, this detailed comparison makes probable the filiation sketched above—that the source of *Guillaume* and *Wilhelm*, together with *Gute Frau* and *Graf*, form one of the minor groups. With reference to *Ysumbras*, *Gesta* and *Breton* there are more difficulties. I believe, however, that they have a common source and that the first and the third stand in rather close relationship to one another. Contamination

¹ Wilmotte in *Le Moyen Age*, II, 189, remarks that the life of the youths in the forest “rappelle invinciblement un épisode de *Tristan*,” the youth of *Tristan*, I suppose. But such scenes are not uncommon in the romances.

from the parent legend is practically certain in the case of *Gesta*—not unnaturally in the circumstances—and may be surmised in the case of *Breton*.

Perhaps the weightiest evidence that these three versions have a common source is found in the introduction to the tale of misfortune. All three state that a bird speaks to the hero¹ (III), wherefore he leaves home. The choice of woe (IV) is preserved only in *Ysumbras*. The number of sons is three instead of two in *Ysumbras* and *Breton*, which seems to connect the two. *Ysumbras*, like *Wilhelm* and *Cifar*, places the loss of the heroine after that of the sons,² while *Gesta* and *Breton* have the usual arrangement (VIII), which shows that *Breton* could not derive from any form of *Ysumbras*, even if such a connection were probable from the geographical relations of the two. *Ysumbras* again differs in the manner of the wife's loss (IX); but the circumstances of the loss of the sons (X) are similarly treated in it and in *Breton*. All three have wild beasts introduced as the instruments of fate (XI), while of the other minor group *Guillaume* is the only one to do this. *Ysumbras* and *Gesta* again resemble one another in having an episode of treasure trove by which the hero is brought back to fortune (XII, 4).³ *Ysumbras* is the only one of the three in which the treasure theme proper is given. The adventures of the hero are related in *Ysumbras* as in *Eustace* (XVIII), similarly in *Gesta*, and very differently in *Breton*.

From this point to the end of the story, *Gesta* exhibits such a marked similarity to *Eustace* that it is impossible not to believe that the writer had in mind the legend of Placidus of the Latin *Gesta* as well as the source which he otherwise

¹ In *Gesta* a nightingale interests him by its song, and the interpretation is given by an old man. The essential fact is, however, as stated above.

² See p. 418.

³ It must be noted that the details are differently related in the two.

followed. The same is true in a measure of *Breton*, though the influence is less striking. Thus *Ysumbras* follows the general group with regard to the adventures of the heroine (XIX)—that is, she is raised to high estate—but in *Gesta* she is made successively a beggar and the wife of the emperor's master-of-horse, and in *Breton* she remains as a servant in an inn. *Ysumbras* and *Gesta* agree with one another, as well as with *Guillaume* and *Gute Frau*, in stating that the heroine remained chaste, though nominally married (XX). This trait seems to belong to the original of the general group. The influence of *Eustace* on *Gesta* is clearly marked in the adventures of the sons (XXI), where the latter agrees with the former in making them become soldiers in the hero's service. In *Ysumbras* likewise they help their father fight, but *Ysumbras* and *Breton* agree in an account of their miraculous education and appearance at the right moment, again strong evidence that the romance and the folk-tale had a source in common. The sons are discovered to the wife in *Gesta* as in *Eustace* (XXII), while *Ysumbras* and *Breton* follow the general group.¹ *Gesta* again agrees with *Eustace* in stating that the hero and heroine meet in the place where the hero is in power and not till the sons have been discovered (XXIII, XXIV), while *Ysumbras* and *Breton*² follow the general group. The means by which the hero and the sons are recognized (XXV, XXVI) again furnish evidence of the contamination of *Gesta* by *Eustace*. *Ysumbras* falls with *Wilhelm* in the former matter, without doubt quite independently. It must be noted finally that *Ysumbras* like *Eustace* makes the time of separation fifteen years, a matter of no great consequence however.

¹ See p. 415, *ante*.

² *Breton* places neither hero or heroine in a high station before the discovery.

The evidence has shown, I believe, that the relation between *Ysumbras*, *Gesta*, and *Breton* is that stated above. The first and third have a source in common that is analogous to the main source of the second. The original of the whole minor group derives from the same source as the original of the other minor group, which includes *Guillaume*, *Wilhelm*, *Gute Frau*, and *Graf*. Three derivative stories remain to be considered: *Cifar*, *Sakarias*, and *Hubert*. Each of them must be treated separately.

Cifar derives directly from *Eustace*¹ with some cross influence from *Guillaume*, as will be seen from the following evidence. The hero leaves home in *Cifar* because of a curious spell and of intrigues against him, by which he loses both influence and wealth (III, V). This is found in no other version. *Cifar* follows *Eustace* in the time of the birth of the sons, as do all the tales save those in one of the minor groups treated above. The hero loses his sons while his wife is still with him (VIII) in *Cifar* as well as in *Wilhelm* and *Ysumbras*. I have already noted² this correspondence, but I do not regard it as of much importance, from the fact that *Wilhelm* is closely allied to *Guillaume* and that the details of the episode are so different in *Ysumbras* and in *Cifar* that the change must have been independent. *Cifar* follows *Eustace* in the manner of the heroine's loss (IX), but it displays independent invention in narrating the loss of the sons (X, XI). One of them is seized by a

¹ Wagner, pp. 20 ff., comes to this conclusion and also studies the provenance of various traits in which *Cifar* differs from the legend. I shall therefore limit my discussion for the most part to the events which are paralleled in *Eustace* and its derivatives, referring the reader to Dr. Wagner's admirable monograph for interpolated material. Dr. Ogden, p. 28, connects *Cifar* with the Greek comedy *Didymi*, "which was taken into the Latin in the *Menaechmi* of Plautus." He is led to this somewhat surprising conclusion "in view of the incident of the twins, and the manner in which one is lost by straying away in the city streets."

² See p. 416. Wagner notes the similarity in *Ysumbras*, but not in *Wilhelm*.

lioness—a trait taken from *Eustace*—but the other goes astray ; and the two are reared under the same roof.¹ *Cifar* lacks the treasure incident altogether, which at once separates it from the group previously discussed. The adventures of the hero (XVIII) are not at all the same in *Cifar* as in *Eustace*, but they are also unlike those found in the other derivatives. Dr. Wagner has sufficiently discussed² these romantic additions. *Cifar* follows *Eustace* in relating that the heroine escaped unharmed from the clutches of her captors ; but her adventures (XIX) are narrated at great length. As is natural from the circumstances of their loss, the sons meet with adventures in *Cifar* (XXI) entirely unlike those found elsewhere. *Cifar* again follows *Eustace* in making the heroine discover her sons before the hero does so (XXII).³ The hero and heroine, however, have already met without giving any sign of recognition, according to *Cifar* (XXIII). As already stated,⁴ I believe that this is an evidence of influence by *Guillaume*, since that romance and its close relative *Wilhelm* are the only other versions in which the trait occurs. I should not wish to assert that this is a matter beyond dispute, however, for the evidence is slight at best. *Cifar* again follows *Eustace* in main outline with reference to the recognition of the wife and sons by the hero (XXIV, XXV, XXVI), though the author has introduced a variety of material to connect this, the first part of his romance, with the second part.

There is little doubt, then, that *Cifar* derives directly from the legend in spite of the very considerable additions and changes that have been made in its fabric. Dr. Wagner's

¹ Wagner notes (p. 22) that the elder son's loss while his father sleeps beside a spring recalls *Octavian*. For this see the following chapter.

² P. 23 f.

³ What appears to be a borrowing from the *Crescentia* saga in the circumstances of the discovery is discussed by Wagner, pp. 25 ff.

⁴ See p. 378.

surmise¹ that the author used a Spanish translation of the *Placidus* legend, from the fact that the names "Teospito," "Agapito," etc., are found in precisely the same form in Cifar's prayer and in the Spanish *Eustace*, appears to be well-grounded. At all events, *Cifar* stands quite alone among the derivatives of *Eustace*, as is shown by the important characteristics which it has retained from the original, where the other derived versions have introduced various changes.

Sakarias, the Danish ballad, is likewise an independent offshoot of the legend. It is both difficult and easy to show that such is the case. On the one hand, *Sakarias* has some curious variations from the parent motive and is rather remote chronologically, since it was found during the nineteenth century in a Protestant land. On the other hand, the similarity in main features is striking, and the variations are peculiar to this one version. Gruntvig recognized the relationship and called attention² to the fact that the legend was put into Icelandic as early as the year 1200. Thus there is no historical difficulty for the provenance of the material of the ballad from *Eustace*. The positive evidence obtained by a comparison of its traits with those of analogous derivatives is sufficient to establish the relationship.

The hero leaves home after meeting a stag in the forest (III), just as he does in the *Eustace* but nowhere else save in *Hubert*. He is given the choice of woe (IV), as in none of the other derivatives except *Ysumbras* and *Graf*. The theme of the children (VI, X, XI, XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXVI) is so greatly obscured that it is almost unrecognizable. A daughter is the only child clearly mentioned, and she becomes the means by which the heroine returns to her husband, if I construe rightly the somewhat doubtful course of events at the end of the story. None of the children is

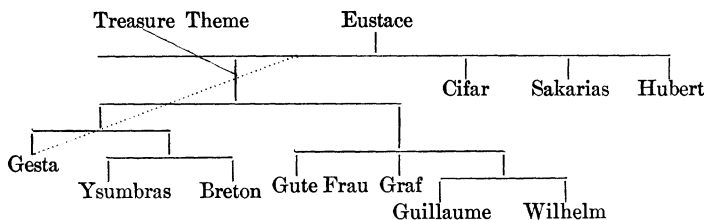
¹ P. 29.

² III, p. 907.

at any time separated from the hero. The ballad again changes the story of the loss of the heroine (IX), but that it has done so independently is shown by the fact that three Oriental versions are the only ones that have made a similar change, and these with essential difference of detail. *Sakarias* lacks the treasure theme altogether, as would be expected. The adventures of the hero and heroine (XVIII, XIX) differ from those in *Eustace*, but they are equally unlike the narrative found in any other version. The fact that the unfortunate couple meet at the place where the wife is living in prosperity (XXIV) seems to ally the ballad with the group containing *Guillaume* and its analogues; but it becomes evident that such is not really the case when we consider that the outcome of the story is dependent upon the marshalling of events earlier in the narrative. The resemblance between *Sakarias* and *Guillaume* is only superficial. It results from simplification of the motive in the former and elaboration in the latter. From this evidence it may justly be concluded that the story of *Sakarias* derives independently from some version of the *Eustace* in the legendary form.

The story of *Hubert* must finally be considered. It need not long delay us, since it contains only the opening episode of the theme. A nobleman is hunting in the forest, when he meets a stag that bears a cross between its horns. He is converted by the miracle. The similarity of this account to that of *Eustace* indicates clearly that it represents the transference of a striking story from the legend of one saint to that of another. The reason for the borrowing is apparent. Hubert was the patron of huntsmen and so might well be the hero of such a tale.

The relations of the derivatives of *Eustace*, as they have been indicated in the course of this discussion, may be graphically expressed as follows:



At different times the legend gave rise to four derivatives which were altogether independent of one another. To one of these was joined a treasure theme analogous to the Arabian *Kamaralzaman* and the source of the Old French *Escoufle*. Thus joined, the two motives gave rise to twin groups of romances and folk-tales. The older of these contains *Guillaume* (12th cent.) and the closely related *Wilhelm* (13th cent.), as well as *Gute Frau* (13th cent.) and *Graf von Savoien* (15th cent.). The younger includes *Ysumbras* (14th cent.) and its close analogue, the *Breton* folk-song, as well as the story from the English *Gesta Romanorum* (15th cent.). The last named tale is strongly influenced, however, by the original legend, a fact which should excite no surprise, since the author had access to the Latin version of the *Gesta* with its *Eustace* in the conventional form. Possibly the *Breton* may have been similarly influenced by the legend proper, though the evidence on this point is far from conclusive. *Cifar* (14th cent.), *Sakarias*, and *Hubert* are independent derivatives, though the first of them shows the influence of *Guillaume* as well as of several other romances that lie outside our cycle.

The relationship of *Guillaume* and *Wilhelm* as shown by a comparison of their traits with those of analogous stories confirms the opinion of Foerster¹ that the former was not the original of the latter. Indeed, there can be no doubt as to the matter from the evidence presented above. One of

¹ iv, clxxv. Ogden comes to much the same conclusion, p. 27.

the most interesting points revealed by the discussion of these derivatives of *Eustace* is the close connection between *Sir Ysumbras* and the Breton *Roue ar Romani*. The existence of the ballad in continental Brittany, as well as its character, renders its derivation from *Ysumbras* quite impossible. As there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of the ballad, we are forced to conclude that the author of *Ysumbras* had a source known in both England and France, which was at the same time the source of the Breton folk-song. Whether or not the common original was in romance form there is no means of judging with certainty. If it was, the language of the work must have been Norman-French, because the theme was treated not only in the two versions mentioned but also in the somewhat later and slightly more remote form of the *Gesta*, which implies a wide knowledge of the story in England. The existence of the *Gesta*, however, seems to me an indication that the direct source of *Ysumbras* and the *Breton* was not a literary work at all, though the question can hardly be resolved from the evidence at hand.

VII.

OCCIDENTAL CONGENERS.

Up to this point we have been considering only such tales as follow in main outline the motives of the *Man Tried by Fate* or of the couple who lost a treasure while journeying. For the reasons given in the beginning of the paper,¹ it has seemed best to adhere rigidly to this plan of study, to reject from the central portion of the discussion all stories that do not conform to the conditions named. There are, however, a good many narratives which have one point or another in common with certain members of our cycle. Some of these I have collected, and I shall treat them in the

¹ See p. 337.

present chapter under the name of congeners, which will explain their relationship to the motive of the *Man Tried by Fate* better than any other word. In the nature of the case, they are of different degrees of kinship. Some run parallel with our motive for a considerable distance, others have but one trait in common. Some are probably indebted to our motive for an episode or two, others represent themes from which members of our cycle have borrowed. Necessarily, our consideration of them, even in cataloguing tales that have points of contact, must be incomplete and more or less unsatisfactory; for the widening ripples that the passage of a story leaves in its wake soon become too complicated for treatment by anyone who has not spent a lifetime in the search and study of them. Accordingly, I make no apology for the following notes but beg that they be regarded as the little basket of fragments remaining from a poor man's feast.

THE CHOICE OF SORROW.

It has been seen that in *Eustace*, as well as in three of its derivatives, the hero is permitted to choose between sorrow on earth and eternal woe.¹ This trait is found in only one of the Oriental analogues of *Eustace* and even there may be due to the influence of the Christian legend.² As far as I have yet been able to discover, the incident does not appear in Europe before the diffusion of this legend in the course of the tenth century. It is found, however, in a religious drama of the fifteenth century and in several folk tales collected in our own time. Most of these versions present a combination of two or more motives that are apparently quite distinct in origin. Doubtless a more extended search would reveal a great variety of other arrangements, but this would lead us

¹ Varied in *Ysumbras* by the choice of poverty in youth or age.

² See p. 385.

far beyond the limits of the present discussion. All that can be hoped from the study of the fragmentary materials here presented is that they will throw some light on the probable provenance of the choice as given in *Eustace* and its derivatives.

The first story to which I shall refer is the legend of Pope Joan, into which the choice has been incorporated. Döllinger mentions¹ the *Urbis Romae Mirabilia*, a work often printed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as containing the earliest form of the legend in which the incident occurs, though he is perhaps in error.² At all events, it is found in a play by Dietrich Schernberg, a priest of Mühlhausen in Thuringia,³ who wrote towards the end of the fifteenth century. This play, which is entitled *Ein schön Spiel von Fraw Jutten*,⁴ may be summarized as follows :

Lucifer and his followers plot against an ambitious maiden named Jutta. By the promise of success she is induced to obey the commands of the devils. She goes from England in company with a *clericus* and studies at Paris, where she passes as Johan. After becoming a doctor she goes to Rome, where she is made a cardinal by Basil and eventually his successor on the papal throne. Because of her alliance with the devils she cannot cast out one of their number from an afflicted man. The devil, however, leaves the man and enters Johan, who thus becomes pregnant. At the intercession of the Virgin, Christ sends Gabriel to the pope. Gabriel offers her the choice of immediate death with eternal

¹ *Papstfabeln des Mittelalters*, 1863, p. 26, note. He also says that it is found "in einer deutschen Cölner-Chronik."

² Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, I, p. 236, note, says that he has been unable to find any such statement in the edition of the *Mirabilia Romae* by Parthey, 1869. I cannot find it in that edition nor in the edition of Graesse, *Beiträge zur Literatur und Sage*, 1850, pp. 1-26.

³ Creizenach, I, p. 236.

⁴ Ed. Keller, *Fastnachtspiele*, pp. 900-955, no. 111. I cite it as *Joan*.

torment or of shame in this world. She chooses the latter, dies in giving birth to her child, but is finally saved by the help of the Virgin.

It is evident that here we have to do with a case of late and somewhat artificial absorption.¹ The choice is misplaced, indeed can have little significance at the end of the plot. Moreover, it is not a very logical choice, since the poor woman is offered death and torment on the one hand, shame, death, and possible torment on the other. The interest of the episode lies in the fact that it is obviously a variant of the choice as found in *Eustace*. A heavenly messenger presents the alternative of suffering on earth or in the other world. If the incident did not come from some form of *Eustace*, it must have been due to a story similar to that incorporated in the Roman legend.

From Germany comes another story, this time a folk-tale, in which the choice appears in a very different way.²

A man, reduced in fortune, becomes a field laborer. An old man of splendid dress and mien offers him the choice of seven years of riches and honor either then or in old age. The man dismisses him curtly, but he reappears twice. The third time, the man consults with his wife, who advises the choice of immediate good. When he goes home he learns that his children have discovered a treasure. At the end of seven years, the stranger reappears but, on learning that

¹ I think that it is unnecessary to assume with Creizenach that Schernberg introduced the episode himself. Döllinger must have had some basis for his statement. We may conclude that the legend of Joan, which did not rise till the thirteenth century, took over the episode in the fifteenth.

² A. M. Tendlau, *Fellmeiers Abende, Märchen und Geschichten aus grauer Vorzeit*, 1856, no. 13, pp. 105-109. The same story appears in G. Levi, *Parabeln, legenden, und gedanken aus Thalmud und Midrasch*, 1863, pp. 153, 154, where it is ascribed to "Jalkut Ruth pag. 165 a." In this form an Arabian proffers the wealth and for a period of *six* years. The outcome is the same. It would be better to substitute this Jewish variant for that given by Tendlau, but it was found too late.

the family have lived in charity, smiles and departs. That night he appears in a dream and says that God has granted them continuance of prosperity because of their piety.

Here we have a logically developed story in which the choice is reasonable and the outcome happy. The consultation of the hero with his wife and the general arrangement of the events make one suspect that the tale is a beneficent form of the *Souhails Saint-Martin*, though only the malevolent forms have usually been treated in that connection.¹ Perhaps it may sometime be possible to bring the various choices of good or evil into correlation with one another—a labor better worth the doing than destructive criticism on a huge scale such as M. Bédier attempts in his brilliant but somewhat impatient book on the *fabliaux*. The choice in this German tale, at all events, is allied to the choice in *Eustace* and similar stories by its temporal character. The hero has to choose between prosperity present or future, which is essentially the converse of the choice in our cycle but very similar to it. In other respects the tale is foreign to our purpose.

In a Sicilian folk-tale there is a choice presented very much as in the above. It is in the story of *Caterina* and her fate.² The Virgin asks the girl whether she had rather enjoy life in youth or in age. As usual, the choice of a happy age is made, and the trials begin. They throw no light on the spread of the episode, however, and so may be neglected.

Quite apart from the examples just quoted, in which the choice has apparently been absorbed by various unrelated stories, there is a considerable group of folk-tales which have

¹ See Benfey, *Pantchatantra*, I, pp. 495-499, Andrew Lang, *Perrault's Popular Tales*, 1887, pp. xlii-li, and J. Bédier, *Les fabliaux*, 1893, pp. 177-193. Benfey, p. 497, recognizes the alternative form apparently.

² L. Gonzenbach, *Sicilianische Märchen*, 1870, no. 21, p. 130.

joined the choice with a much discussed and very interesting theme—that of *The Calumniated Wife*. The latter may be considered, as has already been remarked,¹ a parallel motive to that of the *Man Tried by Fate*. It is with a specialized type of the theme, however, that the choice has been united, the type which results from its combination with *The Hand and the Child*.² Professor Kittredge summarizes this as follows: “In this type the wife is accused (usually by her mother-in-law or by a rival) of bearing an animal or a monster (or of having devoured her offspring); the child is spirited away (or slain) by the calumniator; the wife is repudiated or subjected to terrible penance; at last the child is restored and the wife vindicated.”³

Of the stories which I have examined, the closest approximation to this type that at the same time includes the choice is a Portuguese folk-tale called in an English translation *The Three Little Blue Stones*.⁴

It is prophesied of a princess that a bird will carry her away in its beak when she is fifteen years old. A visiting prince gives her three little blue stones. While she is playing with them in the garden a large bird asks her whether she prefers to “accomplish her destiny, in youth or in old age.” She chooses the former, is carried off by the bird, and finds herself in a forest. Thither comes a prince who takes her home secretly. One day she is found by the queen, who scolds her son. When the princess is about to bear her first child, the prince has to leave for a journey. The queen cuts off one of the little boy’s fingers, smears the princess’s mouth with the blood, and has the child thrown

¹ Ogden, p. 23. See pp. 342, 380, above.

² See Kittredge, *Arthur and Gorlagon*, in *Harvard Studies and Notes*, VIII, 1903, pp. 240 ff.

³ P. 241.

⁴ *Portuguese Folk-Tales*, collected by Pedroso, translated by Henriqueta Monteiro, 1882, no. XXIX, pp. 116 ff.

into the sea. When the prince returns and accuses his wife of eating her babe she answers that she prays God to discover the truth. This happens again and still again. The third time the prince orders that she be buried up to her waist in the courtyard and that everyone who passes shall beat her. At length she entreats the prince to bring her the three stones from her father's palace. He gets them with some difficulty and is told to bring home the princess in a month's time. When she receives the stones, which are her children, she asks them about their fate. They respond by beating together, so that the prince recovers his faith in the lady and marries her.

Here we find the type in all its essential details, except that the influence of *The Calumniated Wife* has not been sufficient to destroy the native extravagance of *The Hand and the Child*. At least I should be inclined in this way to account for the fact that the heroine is carried off by a huge bird before she meets the prince. The choice, as here given, seems out of place and well-nigh grotesque. Indeed, did it not occur in other variants of the type, we might well regard its presence as a mere chance. As a matter of fact, it is found in at least three versions of the same type. The first of these is the Norse tale *Jomfru Maria som Gudmoder*.¹

The Virgin, in the form of a lady, becomes godmother to the daughter of a poor man and brings her up. When the girl is grown, she is disobedient and opens a forbidden door so that the stars, the moon, and the sun escape. For this she is given the choice of being beautiful and dumb or hateful and possessed of the power of speech. She chooses the former and is placed in a wood, where she is found by a prince who marries her. Thrice she bears a child, which is each time taken away by the godmother, who smears her

¹Asbjörsen and Moe, *Norske Folkeeventyr*, 1852, no. 8, pp. 42-47.

mouth with blood. The third time, she is about to be burned, when the godmother appears, announces that she is the Virgin Mary, and says that since the heroine has been sufficiently punished she may now speak.

The second of the stories is from Sicily :¹

A childless queen prayed to St. Francis of Paula and received a daughter whom she called Pauline. When the child was seven years old she stepped down an alley and there saw a monk, who was really St. Francis. She met him often and one day was told to ask her mother whether it was better to suffer in youth or age. The next morning she returned with her mother's answer that suffering in youth was the better. Thereupon the saint took her to a tower where she grew up. At last she was discovered by a king who made her his morganatic wife. Thrice she bore children, each of whom the saint took away, covering her mouth with blood. So she was called a werwolf, but just as her husband was about to wed another wife the saint brought back the children and told who she was.

The third of the stories is from Hessen, and is given by the brothers Grimm² as a variant of their tale of the *Marienkind*, which we must consider a little later.

A black Virgin appears to a laborer and offers to give him a sack of gold for what is buried in his house. It transpires that what is buried is an unborn child. A female babe is born, who at the age of twelve years is taken to a black palace by the Virgin. There she lives for four years, till she enters a forbidden chamber and sees four black virgins. Asked by the Virgin what she prefers to lose as the punishment for her disobedience, she answers speech. She is taken to a forest, where a prince finds and marries her. Thrice she bears a child, which is each time drowned

¹ Gonzenbach, *Sicilianische Märchen*, no. 20, pp. 124 ff.

² *Kinder und Hausmärchen*, 1856, III, p. 7.

by her mother-in-law. She is finally about to be burned, when the four black virgins, whom she saw in the forbidden room, appear with the children safe and well.

In all three of these tales, as well as in the Portuguese story, we find the characteristics of the special type of *The Calumniated Wife* in union with *The Hand and the Child*, which has been so ably treated by Professor Kittredge, together with a choice of sorrow such as has been remarked in *Joan* and *Caterina*. What is more surprising, however, is the fact that in two of them, the Norse and the Sicilian tales, the children are removed not by a mother-in-law or a rival, but by the kind protector of the heroine, who in the case of the Norse takes this means of punishing her disobedience. This results in obscuring the motive of *The Hand and the Child*, but makes the introduction of the choice very natural and insures the semi-religious character of the type. The modification is due, I believe, to contamination by *The Forbidden Room*,¹ best known by the *Bluebeard* of our nursery-books.

That this combination of *The Calumniated Wife*, *The Hand and the Child*, and *The Forbidden Room* really took place will be seen most clearly by a comparison of the stories given above with four other folk-tales, all of which are of German origin. The first that I shall cite is the *Marienkind*,² to which I have already alluded.

A woodcutter gives his daughter to the Virgin, who takes her to heaven. When she is fourteen years of age, the girl is given keys to the thirteen doors of heaven and told that she may use twelve of them. After seeing the rooms to which these give her access, she opens the thirteenth door and

¹ See W. A. Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, 1887, I, pp. 198-205, and Lang, *Perrault's Popular Tales*, pp. lx-lxiv, for brief studies of the theme.

² Grimm, *Kinder und Hausmärchen*, I, p. 9.

beholds the Trinity. A finger, which is the only part of her body that enters the room, turns to gold. When the Virgin returns, she thrice denies her guilt. As punishment, she is made dumb and put into a wood, where a prince finds her. Thrice she bears him a child, which is taken away by the Virgin in each case, because she will not acknowledge her lie. The third time, she is about to be burned, when she repents and cries out her guilt. Then the Virgin causes rain to extinguish the fire and appears with the children.¹

A second story comes from Rumania, which bears considerable resemblance to the above as well as to its counterpart from Hessen. It is *Die eingemauerte Mutter*.²

A woodcutter promises the devil the first thing that meets him on his return home. Instead of his dog, his daughter comes out. She is taken to a wood, where she is saved by the Virgin and placed in a beautiful house. There she is given four keys, by means of which she visits the successive degrees of Paradise, remaining a year, three generations, and half of eternity. With the forbidden fourth key she comes into the presence of Christ and Mary. So she is put out into the forest and commanded not to speak. To the emperor's son, who finds her, she bears two children. They are removed on successive nights, and she is walled up in a tower. Thither the Virgin brings the children with means of subsistence, and gives her permission to speak. After three years the prince has the wall taken down and finds his family safe.

¹Hartland in his study of *The Forbidden Chamber* in the *Folk-Lore Journal*, III, p. 212, gives a variant of Grimm's tale from Leskien and Brugman, *Litauische Volkslieder und Märchen*, 1882, no. 44, p. 498. It follows the other closely except that the heroine enters the chamber and betrays herself by smearing her lips with blood from Christ's wounds—a transference presumably from the latter part of the tale as found elsewhere, e. g. in the *Sicilian*.

²A. and A. Schott, *Walachische Märchen*, 1845, pp. 90-96.

A tale¹ resembling both the *Marienkind* and the Norse story is from Neunhammer in the Oberpfalz of northern Bavaria.

A beautiful lady became godmother to a poor girl and when she was twelve years old took her to a palace, where she had the care of twelve rooms. One day she opened the door of the thirteenth room and saw the Virgin weeping over Christ's body. On the godmother's return she denied her guilt and so was made dumb and placed in the forest, where she lived in a hollow tree for seven years without food or drink. Then she was found and married by a prince, to whom she bore three children who were taken away at birth by the malice of the midwife. So the lady was shut up in a furnace but was preserved by the Virgin, who brought back the children. After two days came the sorrowful prince and found his family all unharmed. Then the woman's tongue was unloosed.

The last of these four stories is a folk tale of the Wends,² which is nearly like the *Marienkind*. It is called *Die Pathenschaft der heiligen Maria*.

A poor man lacked a sponsor for his child. The devil, St. Peter, and the Virgin offered themselves, but the Virgin performed the office. When the child was three years old, she was taken to a castle where she had the care of nine rooms but was forbidden the tenth. One day she stuck her finger in the lock of the door that led to this, and it became golden. (The rest of the story is like the *Marienkind*.)³

¹ Fr. Schönwerth, *Aus der Oberpfalz. Sitten und Sagen*, 1857-59, III, p. 317.

² Haupt und Schmalzer, *Volkslieder der Wenden*, 1841, (Anhang: *Wendische Märchen*, no. 16), II, p. 179.

³ Two variants of the theme are given by Hartland, p. 213, from Waldau, *Böhmisches Märchenbuch*, 1860, p. 600, and Comparetti, *Novelline popolari italiane*, 1875, I, no. 38, p. 156. They add only the variation that the heroine is finally praised and rewarded for her obstinacy or constancy in denial, since by means of it the benefactor is released from a spell. This seems like a perversion of the story.

Space forbids the discussion of these stories with any considerable detail. The existence of the complicated type *The Hand and the Child* + *The Calumniated Wife* + *The Forbidden Room* + a *Choice* is, however, sufficiently well established by comparison of the tales summarized above. The Hessian variant of the *Marienkind* and the Norse *Jomfru Maria som Gudmoder* are the best representatives of the combination among these tales, though a special investigation of the matter would undoubtedly bring to light many other cases of the same sort. I can stay only to point out the somewhat remarkable way in which the Virgin or a saint has taken the place of a mother-in-law (or rival) or of a monster. The many interesting questions that present themselves for consideration with reference to the group as a whole must give place to the matter of the choice, which is our only immediate concern.¹

Seven of the ten stories analyzed have a choice of some kind. In all but one of them, that recounted by Tendlau, the choice is essentially this: woe immediate or future. To be sure, in the Norse and Hessian stories the temporal element has been modified by *The Forbidden Room*; but in view of other correspondences we may properly assume that the general type is as stated. In Tendlau's story, moreover, the choice is the same at bottom, as has already been noted.² If we compare these folk-tales with the choice as presented in the family of the *Man Tried by Fate*, we find some interesting similarities and one striking difference. This can best be seen from the following table:

¹ It is probable that the paper promised by Professor Kittredge, *Arth. and Gorlagon*, p. 241, note 4, will discuss these matters.

² See p. 427.

A CHOICE IS GIVEN.

TO WHOM?	THROUGH WHAT MEDIUM?	IN WHAT FORM?
Armenian.....	Man.....	Genius.....
Eustace.....	“	Stag.....
Ysumbras.....	“	Bird.....
Graf.....	“	Voice in night...
Sakarias.....	“	Stag.....
Joan.....	Woman..	Angel.....
Tendlau's version..	Man.....	Mysterious man..
Caterina.....	Woman..	Virgin.....
Portuguese.....	“	Bird.....
Norse.....	“	Virgin.....
Sicilian.....	“	Saint.....
Hessian.....	“	Virgin.....

It is clear that in both series the choice is given by some superhuman power and that the philosophic question involved is common to both, namely, whether it is better to suffer woe in the present or in the future. The basis for the two is thus the same. In the *Man Tried by Fate* the question is always presented to a man, however, while in the second group it usually has to be answered by a woman or a young girl. In view of this fact, it is excessively improbable that the *Eustace* had any influence on the formation of the folk-tales in the second series. Indeed, the tales may possibly be older in their essential form than the legend itself. What seems clear is that *The Choice* once existed as a separate story, which in the nature of things would readily change the adventures attached to the initial episode. It begins with the climax, so to speak, and furnishes a situation which would stimulate the imagination of the dullest story-teller. It could likewise be adapted without difficulty to fit another motive. This is of the utmost importance in connection with its appearance in the *Man Tried by Fate*. It was absorbed, I am convinced, by *Eustace* (in which it is only

obscurely hinted at first¹), just as it was absorbed by the combined type of *The Calumniated Wife* and *The Hand and the Child*.

THE LOSS OF THE CHILDREN.

It has been seen² that the loss of the hero's sons is an essential element in the *Man Tried by Fate*. Almost every variant of the story that has been considered includes the episode. The existence of the same incident in several other stories has led to confusion and misunderstanding in certain cases; an intercalated theme has been mistaken for a leading motive. Thus the influence of *Eustace* has sometimes been as much exaggerated as at other times it has been underestimated. It seems necessary, therefore, to review the loss of the children in a number of romances which have taken over the episode from the legend, in order that we may see how the combination has arisen and make sure that we have to do with the borrowing of details rather than of themes.

The story of *Octavian* deserves to be considered first because of its importance in spreading this episode of the *Man Tried by Fate*. *Octavian* is an offshoot of the great *Floovent* saga,³ which represents an important form of *The Calumniated Wife*. The name *Octavian* may be used to indicate the combination of this motive with the *Man Tried by Fate*, but in reality it is with a group of romances rather than with a single story that we have to deal. These have been studied in detail by Bangert⁴ and Streve,⁵ as well as by the editors of the Old French⁶ and Middle English⁷ versions

¹ See p. 355, note.

² Chap. III, table VI.

³ See Darmesteter, *De Floovante*, 1877, Bangert, *Beitrag zur Geschichte der Flooventsage*, 1879.

⁴ Work cited.

⁵ *Die Octavian-sage*, 1884.

⁶ Vollmöller, *Octavian*, 1883 (Foerster's *Altfranz. Bibliothek*, III).

⁷ Sarrazin, *Octavian, Zwei mittlenglische Bearbeitungen der Sage*, 1885 (Kölbing's *Altengl. Bibliothek*, III).

of *Octavian* proper. They include, roughly speaking: in Old French *Florent et Octavien*,¹ a prose rendering of the same, the *Octavian* published by Vollmöller, and the *Miracle de Nostre-Dame du roy*;² in Italian the story of Drugiolina found in the different versions of *Fioravante*, notably in that of *I reali di Francia*,³ along with later variants of the same; in English two versions of *Octavian*, one from the north, the other from the south, both of which have been published by Sarrazin; and also versions in Spanish, German, Danish, Swedish, Icelandic, etc., which need not be enumerated here. None of these is older than the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth centuries, the approximate date of *Florent et Octavien* and the French *Octavian*.

The outline of the story follows.

Octavian, emperor of Rome, has a wife and two sons, who are named Florent and Octavian. By the malice of his mother, the emperor is led to believe his wife unfaithful and banishes her with the boys. She is left in a forest, where she falls asleep. Thereupon her children are carried away by wild beasts,⁴ from which they are rescued, however. The adventures of the sons and the mother are differently related in the several versions, but in all of them Florent is brought up at Paris while Octavian is reared in the Orient.⁵ Finally the family is reunited, when the boys have become valiant knights.

There can be little doubt, I think, that this story has

¹ ms. fr. 1452, Bibliothèque nationale, as yet unpublished. See Vollmöller, p. xvi.

² Michel et Monmerqué, *Théâtre français au moyen-âge*, 1842, pp. 551-608.

³ See Rajna, *Ricerche intorno ai Reali di Francia*, 1872, who gives its date as the second half of the fourteenth century (p. 323).

⁴ In *Octavian* proper, both French and English, the elder son is seized by an ape, rescued by a knight who is immediately set upon by robbers, and sold by the latter to a merchant from Paris; the younger son is seized first by a lioness and secondly by a griffin.

⁵ In *Octavian* proper the second son is found by the empress and carried by her to Jerusalem.

borrowed the episode of the lost children from some form of *Eustace*. The sons are born before the heroine's departure from home, and they are seized by animals before they fall into the friendly hands of their foster-parents. To be sure, the animals are not the same as in the legend, but we have seen that almost without exception the direct derivatives of *Eustace*¹ have likewise made changes at this point.² The subsequent adventures of the family are only slightly contaminated by the legend, so that it is probably better to say that *Octavian* borrowed the incident of the loss of the sons rather than that it has a double motive, the second part of which comes from *Eustace*.³ The comparatively late date of *Octavian* makes the borrowing more probable, since by the end of the thirteenth century the theme had already become well known in romance as well as in legend, *Guillaume d'Angleterre* being of the twelfth century. The borrowing, however, seems to have been from the legend rather than the romance.⁴

The second romance that requires notice is *Valentine and Orson*, which is found in various forms from the later Middle Ages.⁵ The only part of the story that concerns us runs as follows.

¹ See chap. III, table XI.

² The transference of the boys from hand to hand recalls the sixth century *Sanskrit* tale (see chaps. II, III, IV). It is just possible that there may be some underground connection between the two. Since I have found no real evidence of this, however, I prefer the explanation given above, which is favored alike by chronology and geography.

³ The opinion of Streve, p. 3.

⁴ Sarrazin, *Octavian*, pp. xliv, xlv, compares *Octavian* with *Ysumbras* and points out a few literal resemblances. He believes that each "auf eine erweiterte fassung der Eustachiuslegende zurückgeht," but says that "Der Isumbras scheint ein verdünnter, verwässerter aufguss des Octavian zu sein." I believe that I have sufficiently discussed the matter above.

⁵ Danish: *Namnlös och Valentin. En Medeltids Roman*, ed. G. E. Klemming, 1846; Low German: *Valentin und Namelos die niederdeutsche Dichtung*, ed. W. Seelmann, 1884; and fragments of a Dutch version, ed. G. Kalf, in *Middelnederlandsche epische Fragmenten*, 1885-86.

Bellisant, sister of Pippin of France, is married to the emperor of Constantinople. Owing to accusations of the archbishop whose attentions she has repulsed, she goes back to France accompanied only by her sons and her servant Blandimain. In a wood near Orleans a she-bear robs her of one son, who grows up in the forest and is called Orson. While she chases the bear, the other child is carried away by Pippin and his train, who are riding by, and is given to a knight to rear. Later they are recognized by Pippin through the instrumentality of Blandimain.

The opinion has been held that *Valentine and Orson* is a romantic version of the legend of St. Valentine mixed with traits from the *Octavian* saga.¹ Into the question of the origin of the romance as a whole we need not enter, but it certainly seems clear that the episode of the lost boys must derive ultimately from the *Eustace* legend. Whether or not *Octavian* was the intermediary form is a matter of some doubt, though I believe that such was probably the case. It is hardly likely, however, that any of the *Octavian* romances now extant was this source, which may perhaps have been the conjectural Old French *Florent et Octavien*.²

Two interesting Middle English romances, *Sir Eglamour of Artois*³ and *Torrent of Portyngale*⁴ also include the incident of the lost children, again unmistakably as an ornament borrowed for the better presentation of the tale. *Eglamour* dates from the fourteenth century,⁵ *Torrent* from the fifteenth.⁶ The two romances have very much in common, so much

¹ See Seelmann, p. liii.

² See Bangert, pp. 16, 17.

³ Ed. Halliwell, *The Thornton Romances*, 1844 (Camden Society), pp. 121-176.

⁴ Ed. E. Adam, E. E. T. S., extra ser. li.

⁵ Zielke, *Untersuchungen zu Sir Eglamour of Artois*, p. 48, says the beginning of the fourteenth century.

⁶ Adam, p. v.

indeed that we need not hesitate to believe with Adam¹ that, though mutually independent, they derive from a common source. Very likely this may have been the lost poem which Adam conjectures. For our present purpose the briefest possible outline of the story common to both will suffice.

A young knight, after a long series of exploits undertaken at the instance of his lady's father, wins her hand, but almost immediately departs on warlike business. In his absence the lady gives birth to twins (in *Eglamour* one son only) and is put to sea in a leaky boat. She is driven to land in the Orient, where her sons are snatched away by wild beasts (in *Eglamour* the single son is taken by a griffin, in *Torrent* one by a leopard and the other by a griffin), but rescued and reared by kings. She herself lives at a foreign court, till at length the hero ends his long and varied career of adventure by coming thither and finding his wife and children at a tournament.

A comprehensive study of the literary relations of *Eglamour* and *Torrent* is greatly needed.² Zielke concludes³ concerning the former: "Sicher ist, dass unsere dichtung in ihren grundzügen auf die Eustachiuslegende zurück geht." Adam says⁴ of the latter: "But there is no doubt that the story of *Torrent* in its principal features . . . proceeded from the old Eustache legend." Both are equally wrong, I believe, though space forbids prolonged discussion of the sources here. It will be seen, however, even from the brief outline given above that the motive of *Eglamour* and *Torrent* is altogether different from that of *Eustace* or of the *Man Tried by Fate* in general. Dr. Ogden probably comes nearer the truth in believing⁵ that they were patch-work romances,

¹ Pp. xxx ff.

² Schleich's edition of *Sir Eglamour* will probably supply this. See his *Ysumbras*, p. vi.

³ P. 60.

⁴ Pp. xxif.

⁵ P. 16.

though I think that he errs in his statement of their relationship. The manner of the loss of the children¹ is the only trait which bears a marked resemblance to *Eustace*, and this is unmistakably borrowed. It is not at all probable, however, that *Eustace* or any of its derivatives was the direct source of the episode. A far more probable source is *Octavian*, either in its Old French or Middle English form. I speak with some diffidence in this matter but believe that the evidence will bear out my conclusion. At least *Octavian* is a more probable source than *Eustace*. In *Octavian* the sons are seized, the one by an ape, the other successively by a lioness and a griffin. Of all the other versions of the incident which I know—and they are almost as various as the stories that form their background—*Eglamour* and *Torrent* are the only ones that introduce the griffin.² Moreover, the setting of the incident is the same: the heroine gives birth to her sons before departure from home and loses them in the wilderness. It is, of course, possible that some other version of *The Calumniated Wife*, which really forms the groundwork of both *Eglamour* and *Torrent*, may have been the source of the episode, though I suggest *Octavian* provisionally. Certainly *Eustace* can be regarded as the direct source of these romances neither in general outline nor in the particular feature just discussed.³

We find the episode of the lost children again in the Italian version of *Ogier the Dane*, namely, *Uggeri il Danese*.⁴

¹ It is altogether probable that the source of the two had the double form as in *Torrent*, which was simplified in *Eglamour*.

² *Uggeri* has the griffin, but again probably from the Italian form of the *Octavian* saga. See below.

³ Holland, *Chrestien de Troies*, 1854, believed that *Octavian*, *Eglamour*, and *Torrent* all derived from *Eustace*. His opinion has been held rather uncritically by succeeding scholars.

⁴ I cite from the summary by P. Rajna, *Uggeri il Danese*, Part III, *Romania*, IV, pp. 401, 402.

Voretzsch says of the Italian form of the story:¹ "Manches alte ist verwischt, manches neue hinzugefügt." Indeed, the romance has been so far refashioned that it is not at all a cause for wonder that an incident, so widely known as we have seen the loss of the children to be, should have been incorporated in the work. It is found in a part of the romance in which the adventures of Uggeri are overshadowed by those of his companions.²

Ricciardetto is married to the princess Gismonda and becomes the father of twins. While he is absent from home, the enemy take the city, and Gismonda is thought to have been slain. She escapes to the forest, however, where she is robbed of her sons by a griffin and an eagle. One of the boys is subsequently taken to Marseilles, the other to Constantinople. They finally meet in battle at Paris and learn their origin by a miracle. Together they search for their mother and find her in the forest.

There can be little doubt, I think, that this episode was modelled on the story of Drugiolina in *Fioravante*, the Italian version of *Octavian*. As in *Eglamour* and *Torrent*, the children are born before the heroine leaves her home, and the griffin appears as one of the robber beasts. The resemblance to *Octavian* is strengthened in the present case, however, by the subsequent adventures of the twins. Just as in *Octavian*, one of them is reared in France and the other in the Orient, while they finally meet in Paris. Professor Rajna discusses the similarity³ and comes to the conclusion that "*Fioravante* in some one of its versions" was the source of the episode in *Uggeri*. A comparison with the *Octavian* saga generally leads inevitably to the

¹ *Über die Sage von Ogier dem Dänen*, 1891, p. 124.

² Rajna, *Romania*, II, p. 154.

³ *Romania*, IV, p. 423. Rajna also enumerates other points of likeness between *Uggeri* and *Fioravante*.

same conclusion. *Octavian*, in all probability, was the means by which the incident passed from *Eustace* to *Valentine*, to *Eglamour* and *Torrent*, and to *Uggeri*.

Another romance that has the episode of the lost children is *La belle Hélène de Constantinople*,¹ an interesting member of the *Constance* cycle, written in the latter part of the thirteenth or early in the fourteenth century.² The literary relations of the romance have been carefully studied by Professor Suchier,³ and Dr. Gough⁴ in their discussions of the *Constance* saga as a whole. According to the scheme worked out by the latter, *Hélène* is derived from an earlier *Hélène* (conjectural), which had as its source the Mercian saga of *Offa*. The story of *Offa* was the direct source of part of *Vita Offae Primi*,⁵ a work composed by a monk of St. Albans in the twelfth century. The *Constance* saga has, of course, nothing whatever to do with the *Man Tried by Fate*. It is a form of *The Calumniated Wife*.

Hélène itself, however, has the robbery of the two sons in almost precisely the same form as that found in *Eustace*. The heroine is driven from home by treachery, and after journeying to a foreign land she is robbed of her children in the wilderness by a wolf and a lion. The sons are saved by a hermit. Then the current of the story sweeps back again into the familiar channel. We have to do with a borrowed episode pure and simple. It is at once evident,

¹ No edition of the romance has appeared, as far as I know. R. Ruths, *Die französischen Fassungen des Roman de la belle Helaine*, 1897, p. 57, gives a good summary of it, on which I base my notes.

² Suchier, *Les oeuvres poétiques de Beaumanoir*, 1884, p. xxvii, and Ruths, p. 1, note, give the date as the thirteenth century; Paris, *Litt. franç. au moyen âge*, 2nd ed., p. 254, places it in the early fourteenth.

³ *Über die Sage von Offa und pryðo*, Paul and Braune's *Beiträge*, iv, pp. 500-521, and the introduction to *Oeuvres de Beaumanoir*.

⁴ *The Constance Saga*, 1902 (*Palaestra*, xxiii).

⁵ Conveniently reprinted in the *Originals and Analogues*, published by the Chaucer Society, 2nd ser., vii, pp. 73-84.

however, that the episode is strikingly similar to the corresponding part of *Eustace*. With the solitary exception of the Breton folk-tale, *Eustace* is the only version of the *Man Tried by Fate* that has the children carried off by a wolf and lion. The fact that we find correspondence in a matter of detail which has been so variously treated leads to the conclusion that *Hélène* took the episode from *Eustace* itself.

It is necessary to decide, furthermore, at what point the incident entered. This can be done with some security. *Offa I*, though it states that several children were born to the heroine says nothing of their loss. Similarly, the Italian legend *Miraculi de la gloriosa verzene Maria*, which Gough believes anterior to *Hélène*,¹ does not contain the incident. Accordingly, the author of the extant *Hélène* must have taken the episode from *Eustace*² or else the conjectural *Hélène* must have borrowed it. That the latter is true seems clear from the fact that it is found in the novel of *Dionigia* in Ser Giovanni Fiorentino's *Il Pecorone*.³ Professor Suchier⁴ summarizes certain folk-tales which also contain the incident, but they need not be enumerated here.

Finally, in *Bevis of Hamtoun*, there is an episode that resembles the loss of the children as hitherto treated. It is found both in the Old French version from the first half of the thirteenth century⁵ and in the Middle English from the end of that century or the first quarter of the next.⁶

¹ See the plan, *Constance Saga*, p. 13.

² The opinion of Suchier, *Oeuvres de Beaumanoir*, p. xxix.

³ *Novella*, x, 1.

⁴ *Oeuvres de Beaumanoir*, pp. xxxi, xxxii.

⁵ *Boeve de Haumtone*, ed. Stimming, *Bibl. Normannica*, 1899.

⁶ Ed. Kölbing, E. E. T. S., ext. ser., XLVI, XLVIII, and LXV (from several MSS. of which the Auchinleck is the earliest and has the date given). I disregard the versions of the saga other than the French and English, which contain the episode, since they are derivative.

Bevis¹ leaves England in consequence of a feud with the king's son, accompanied by his wife. On the journey she gives birth to twins, while Bevis and his page retire. In their absence, the treacherous Ascopart comes along and carries her off. Bevis finds the children and gives one to a forester, the other to a fisherman. Subsequently the family is reunited, but the later adventures do not concern us.

The outlines of the story are here much blurred by its adaptation to the framework of the romance, which is largely a composite of diverse elements. In the circumstances it is difficult to say with certainty whence the incident came. From the fact that the children are born after the heroine leaves home rather than before and that she is lost before the sons are given away, it seems probable that the source of the episode in *Bevis* was some version of the *Man Tried by Fate*, nearly related to *Guillaume*, *Wilhelm* and *Gute Frau*.² It is even possible that some form of *Guillaume* itself gave rise to the interpolation in *Bevis*, though I should hesitate to say that such is really the case.

VIII.

CONCLUSION.

This prolonged and detailed study of a single narrative theme in its wanderings from land to land, chiefly westward, may be briefly concluded. We have seen how an Oriental story that had a life and career of its own in Asia, that still lives on there indeed, sent at least one offshoot into Europe, thereby enriching the biography of a saint in the Roman calendar and incidentally the secular literature of Christendom. The evidence of the ordered progress of the motive

¹ The episode includes vv. 3543–3962 of the English version.

² See pp. 413–415 for a discussion of this group.

is so clear, it seems to me, that we have no reason to doubt its actual propagation in the manner described. Other forms of the theme than that embodied in the *Eustace* legend may, of course, have penetrated Europe. These may yet come to the surface and be put into literary form.

From the *Eustace*, however, all the variants of the story which have as yet come to light, may, I believe, safely be derived. Some of them, like the group centering about *Guillaume d'Angleterre* and *Sir Ysumbras*, have absorbed a secondary motive that modifies but does not obscure the first. It is necessary to postulate an intermediate form between these and *Eustace* itself; but if it be remembered that all of them are found within three neighboring countries (France, Germany, and England) and that they are considerably later in date than the time when the legend is known to have existed in a developed form, there can be little difficulty in accepting such a conjectural version. It must have been unwritten certainly, subject to the vicissitudes of non-literary narrative and, within certain geographical limits, very popular, though it never ousted the ecclesiastical version from an impregnable position in the hearts of a church-going and sermon-hearing multitude. That *Eustace* was kept in remembrance is shown not only by the fact that it was retold in the vernacular during the centuries of romance but also by the fact that other variants, like *Cifar*, derive directly from the legend in so far as they treat the theme of the *Man Tried by Fate*.

Furthermore, the impress of the legend on the literature of the time was so intimate that side by side with episodes taken from popular derivatives and inserted by more or less skilful hands into romantic versions of themes entirely foreign to the *Man Tried by Fate*, as is the case with *Eglamour* and *Uggeri*, we find that other romances have borrowed the same elements from *Eustace* itself, as *Octavian* and

Hélène have done. The constant knowledge of the legend on the part of learned and unlearned alike must never be forgotten. Though its presence complicates the problem of relationship and increases the chances of error, it cannot safely be ignored.

If the results of my study be accepted as trustworthy, a matter of no inconsiderable importance for the study of mediæval literature and of popular European literature generally is opened for discussion. An ecclesiastical legend is seen to have given rise to a group of well-known romances and to a number of folk narratives, that is, has furnished the materials from which they were fashioned in various ways, and has very generally left its spiritual or moralizing impress upon them. Though most of the stories discussed have individually been referred to *Eustace* on the basis of more or less striking resemblances, the significance of the main fact has not in the present case, nor often in the case of other cycles, been widely recognized. I do not wish to imply that ecclesiastical influence on fiction has been absolutely denied, nor that in individual examples it has not long been an academic commonplace. Such a sweeping statement would be as presumptuous as it would be silly. I do believe, however, that the great story-telling church of the Middle Ages was far more influential in spreading broadcast stories that it had adopted, no matter where and no matter for what purpose, than recent writers have been willing to admit. Its opportunities were unrivalled, its unconscious appetite for adaptable tales was insatiable. It acted as a distributing agent to an extent that is not generally perceived. In emphasizing the importance of the people in the formation of literature, we are in danger of forgetting that the people have been in constant communication with their spiritual overlords and that in the old days, at least, they were indebted to them for a very considerable portion of their ideas.

The adage about the solitary swallow is to be held in remembrance, of course. Because one widespread story was adapted by literature and by the people from ecclesiastical sources, it does not necessarily follow that the influence was general or of extraordinary importance. These remarks are intended half in apology for the detailed nature of the preceding study, which centres on the question of the derivatives of *Eustace*, half in anticipation of other studies in the same field. Work in comparative literature may be highly entertaining to the investigator without being of much importance to other workers. Unless it has an end and an aim, it is liable to waste itself in an enumeration of stories almost as fruitless as an effort to count the sands running through an hour-glass.

For the defects in the presentation of the material collected, I must beg the indulgence of my readers. Such investigations abound in pitfalls for the unwary, and I cannot be sure that all of them have been avoided in the present case, though I believe that the results will bear the test of careful criticism.

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